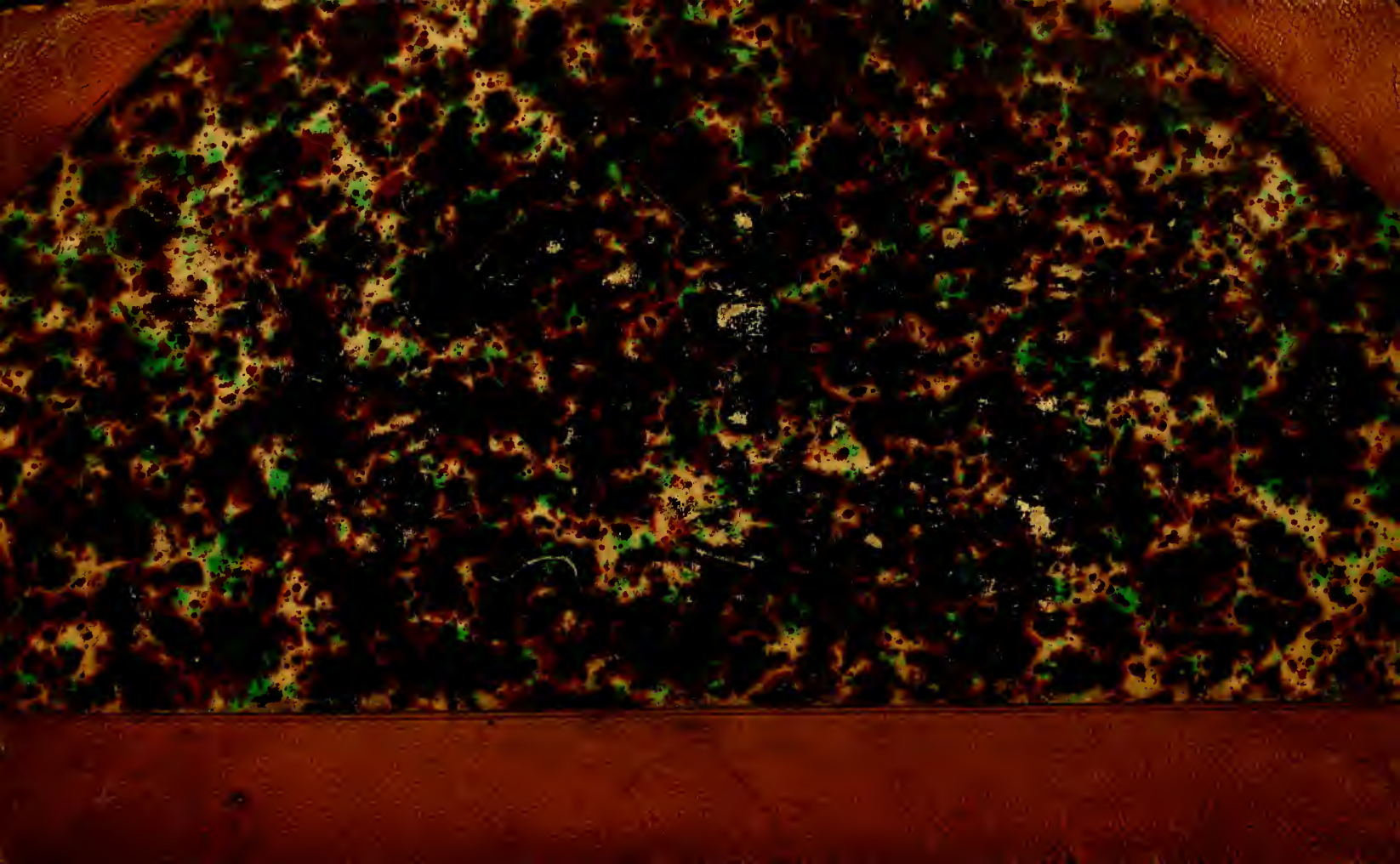

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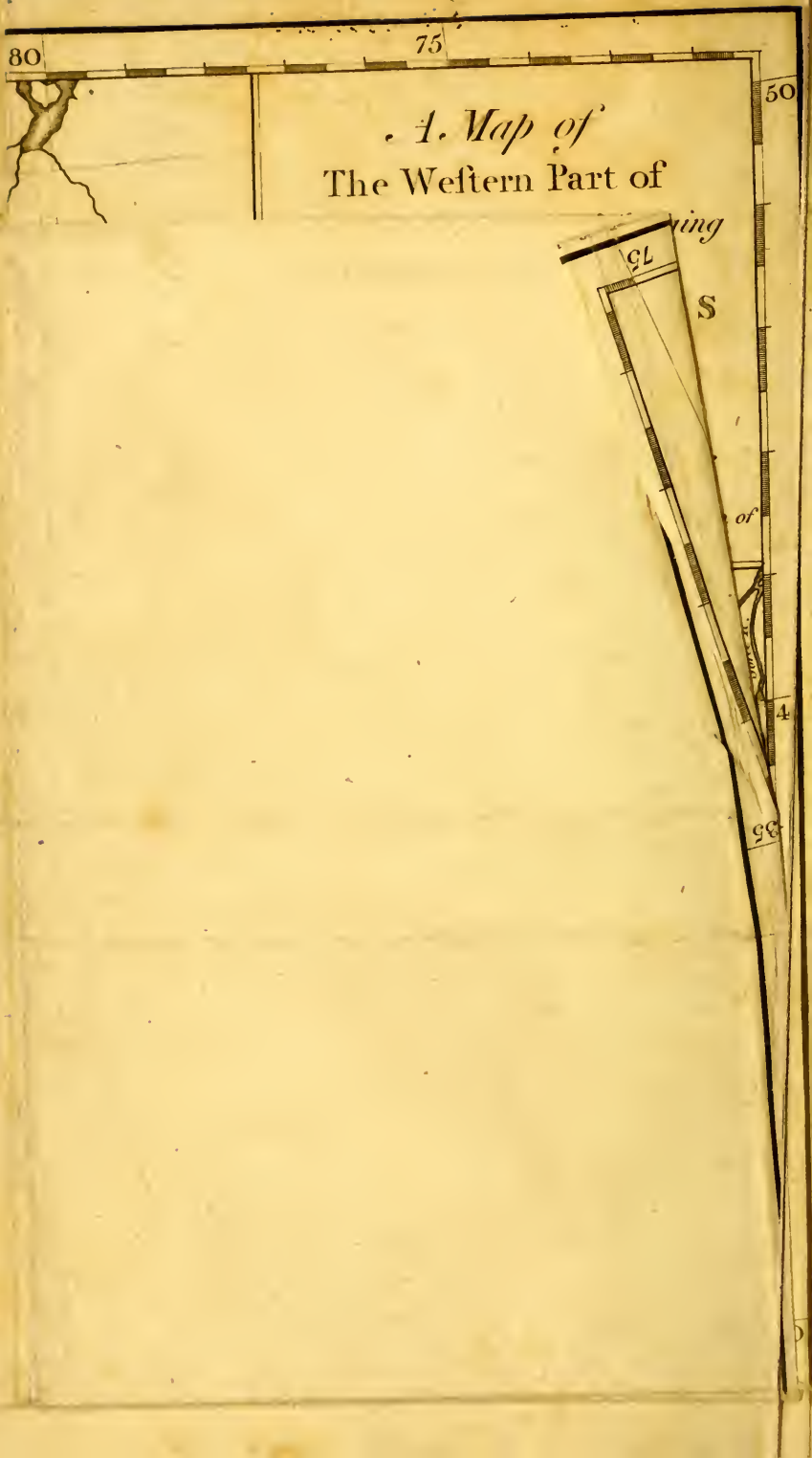
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A Map of
The Western Part of
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Wm M Darlington

A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

OF THE

WESTERN TERRITORY

OF

NORTH AMERICA:

CONTAINING

A SUCCINCT ACCOUNT of its Soil, Climate, Natural History, Population, Agriculture, Manners, and Customs. With an ample Description of the several Divisions into which that Country is partitioned;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

THE DISCOVERY, SETTLEMENT,

AND

PRESENT STATE OF KENTUCKY.

AND

AN ESSAY towards the TOPOGRAPHY, and NATURAL HISTORY of that important Country.

By JOHN FILSON.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

I. The ADVENTURES of Col. DANIEL BOON, one of the First Settlers, comprehending every important Occurrence in the Political History of that Province.

II. The MINUTES of the PIANKASHAW COUNCIL, held at Post ST. VINCENT'S, April 15, 1784.

III. An ACCOUNT of the INDIAN NATIONS inhabiting within the Limits of the Thirteen United States; their Manners and Customs; and Reflections on their Origin.

By (GEORGE) IMLAY, Gilbert cl. 1755 1796

A Captain in the American Army during the War, and Commissioner for laying out Lands in the Back Settlements.

Illustrated with correct Maps of the Western Territory of NORTH AMERICA; of the STATE of KENTUCKY, as divided into Counties, from the latest Surveys; and a Plan of the Rapids of the OHIO.

THE SECOND EDITION,
WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. DEBRETT, OPPOSITE BURLINGTON-HOUSE, PICCADILLY.

MDCCXCIII.

A Map of
The Western Part of
the TERRITORIES belonging
to the
UNITED STATES
of
AMERICA.
Drawn from the best Authorities.
Engraved for Imlay's Topographical Description of that Country.
LAKE SUPERIOR
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE HURON
LAKE ERIE
LAKE ONTARIO
UPPER CANADA
NEW YORK
PENSYLVANIA
NEW JERSEY
MARYLAND
DELAWARE STATE
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
KENTUCKY
CHEROKEE COUNTRY
CREEKS COUNTRY
WEST FLORIDA
EAST FLORIDA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
LOUISIANA
Missisippi R.
Ohio River
Fort Detroit
Lake St. Clair
Lake Champlain
Philadelphia
New York
Albany
Baltimore
Richmond
Charles Town
Savannah
Natchezes
Nachitoches
St. Louis
Lexington
Plains
Allegany Mountains
Cumberland Mountain
Chesapeak Bay
Delaware Bay
Arlbemarle Sound
C. Hatteras
C. Fear
Lake of the Woods
White Bear Lake
Lake Missisagan
St. Mary's Falls
Illinois Lake
Fall 136 feet Niagara
× Where the Action was fought between the Forces under Genl. St. Clair, & the united Tribes of Indians, Nov. 4. 1791
British Statute Miles
Longitude West from London.
95
90
85
80
75
50
45
40
35

Wm M'Darlington

A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

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INTRODUCTION.

THE Author of the following Letters having been an early witneſs to the ſettlement of Kentucky, had frequently ſuggeſted to me the importance of that riſing country. But I confeſs that, with every deference to his judgment, I was not aware how deſervedly it had been eſtimated as of the utmoſt conſequence. A momentous æra, during ſeveral years of which the eyes of the whole world were attentively fixed upon Europe, had ſo entirely occupied my mind, that, regardleſs of occurrences in the remote parts of America, I felt no inconſiderable aſtoniſhment at finding that Kentucky was to be admitted as a ſeparate State into the federal government.

It ſtruck me as a natural object of enquiry to what a future increaſe and elevation of magnitude and grandeur the ſpreading empire of America might attain, when a country had thus ſuddenly riſen from an uninhabited wild, to the quantum of population neceſſary to govern and regulate its own adminiſtration.

It was under this idea that I requeſted my friend to ſend me, at his leiſure, a complete deſcription of the weſtern country of America; an enumeration of the laws and government of Kentucky; and an account of that diſtrict of country which appeared the moſt likely to become a new State.

All this he has done in ſo ample a manner, that when the news of the defeat of General St. Clair was received, I thought that the letters in queſtion would prove acceptable to the Public, as imparting to them a more particular knowledge of that country, ſo apparently the bone of contention between the Indians and the Americans.

Con-

Conceiving a newſpaper to be the moſt proper channel of communication, I offered a copy of ſuch of the letters as I had then received, to the Editor of the Morning Chronicle. But the important criſis of the time, with reſpect to parliamentary buſineſs and European politics, did not admit of his devoting ſo large a ſhare of that excellent paper to their inſertion, as the length of the letters would have required; and to have mutilated them, would have been doing injuſtice to the Author, and leaving the information incomplete. But as ſeveral other of his letters have ſince come to my hands, I have determined to publiſh them in a book, not doubting but that the world will receive as much information and amuſement from them as I myſelf have experienced.

It is very certain that no work of the kind has hitherto been publiſhed in this country; and when original matter is brought before the Public, ſurely it cannot fail to prove ac-

ceptable to the philoſopher, and entertaining to the curious.

The occaſional remarks, which he has interſperſed, reſpecting the laws, religion, and cuſtoms of Europe, are entitled to the greateſt indulgence, as I believe them to be made with the greateſt candour.

A man who had lived until he was more than five-and-twenty years old, in the back parts of America (which was the caſe with our Author, except during the period he ſerved in the army), accuſtomed to that ſimplicity of manners natural to a people in a ſtate of innocence, ſuddenly arriving in Europe, muſt have been powerfully ſtricken with the very great difference between the ſimplicity of the one, and what is called *etiquette* and good breeding in the other.

Perhaps ſuch a perſon is better calculated than ourſelves to judge of our manners; and doubtleſs habit very materially acts upon the human mind; and ſince it has been too much the

the practice in Europe to confer favours in proportion to the ſervility of courtiers, I am apprehenſive that we have imperceptibly loſt much of our energy and manlineſs.

The calculated riſe of the American empire, which theſe letters contain, will not, I think, appear extravagant, when we recollect the rapid ſtrides which have advanced it to its preſent flouriſhing ſtate of wealth and population.

In the life of Edward Drinker, which was publiſhed in Philadelphia, April 1783, are contained theſe remarkable particulars:

" Edward Drinker, was born in a cottage in 1688, on the ſpot where the city of Philadelphia now ſtands, which was inhabited, at the time of his birth, by Indians, and a few Swedes and Hollanders.

" He often talked of picking blackberries, and catching wild rabbits, where this populous city is now ſeated. He remembered the arrival of William Penn, and uſed to

point out the ſpot where the cabin ſtood in which that adventurer and his friends were accommodated on their arrival.

" He ſaw the ſame ſpot of earth, in the courſe of his own life, covered with woods and buſhes, the receptacles of wild beaſts and birds of prey, afterwards become the ſeat of a great and flouriſhing city, not only the firſt in wealth and arts in America, but equalled but by few in Europe.

" He ſaw ſplendid churches riſe upon moraſſes, where he uſed to hear nothing but the croaking of frogs; great wharfs and warehouſes, where he had often ſeen ſavages draw their fiſh from the river; he ſaw that river afterwards receiving ſhips and merchandize from every part of the globe, which, in his youth, had nothing bigger than an Indian canoe.

" He had been the ſubject of many crowned heads; but when he heard of the oppreſſive and unconſtitutional acts paſſed in Britain,

Britain, he bought them all, and gave them to his grandſons to make kites of; and embracing the liberty and independence of his country, aftr ſeeing the beginning and end of the Britiſh empire in Pennſylvania, and after triumphing in the eſtabliſhment of freedom, he died in November 1782."

I repeat, that when we recollect the wonderful changes which have taken place during the life of one man in Pennſylvania; under all the diſadvantages with which the population of that country was attended, as well as the reſt of America, poſterity will not deem it extraordinary, ſhould they find the country ſettled quite acroſs to the Pacific Ocean, in leſs than another century.

I will ſuppoſe that the inhabitants of America amount at preſent to four millions of ſouls at leaſt, and that their population doubles once in twenty or twenty-five years; at the end of a hundred years their number will be ſixty-four millions.

This is a very ſimple but very obvious truth. To be ſenſible of this, we have only to mark the ſtages of its growth. For, whether the ſecret of its amazing fecundity is owing to the great proportion of room which the extent of its territory affords, ſignifies very little, as it does not appear likely that any material alteration, in that reſpect, will take place in the courſe of ſo ſhort a time as a century; as the expanſion of its dominion will ſecure the ſame advantages to population.

The immenſe extent of the American empire abounds with all climates, with every kind of ſoil, and with rivers ſo various and extenſive, that it ſeems calculated to become a rival to half the globe in trade and riches.

Some obſtructions have interfered with the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, which were as repugnant to ſound policy on the part of Spain, as it was diſtreſſing to the people of the weſtern country.

It

It was under that coercion that the people of Kentucky in convention in the year 1788, petitioned the United States upon the ſubject of their grievances; who, in conſequence, remonſtrated with the Court of Spain upon that ſubject, when ſome indulgence was granted, though that navigation was not entirely liberated.

This petition contains ſentiments ſo pure, and ſo manly, that I think there cannot be a better idea conveyed of their diſpoſitions and manners, than by inſerting it at full length.

" *Fathers, fellow-citizens, and Guardians of our rights,*

" As we addreſs you by the appellation of fathers, we rely on your paternal affection to hear us; we rely on your juſtice, as men and citizens, to attend to the wrong done to men and citizens; and as a people recogniſed by the ſolemn acts of the union, we look for protection to the federal head.

" When the peace had ſecured to America

rica that ſovereignty and independence, for which ſhe had ſo nobly contended, we could not retire with our Atlantic friends, to enjoy, in eaſe, the bleſſings of freedom. Many of us had expended, in the ſtruggle for our country's rights, that property which would have enabled us to poſſeſs a competence with our liberty. On the weſtern waters, the commonwealth of Virginia poſſeſſed a fertile, but uninhabited wild. In this wilderneſs we ſought, after having procured liberty for our poſterity, to provide for their ſupport.

" Inured to hardſhips by a long warfare, we ventured into almoſt impenetrable foreſts —without bread or domeſtic cattle, we depended on the caſual ſupplies afforded by the chace—hunger was our familiar attendant, and even our unſavoury meals were made upon the wet ſurface of the earth, with the cloud-deformed canopy for our covering. Though forced to pierce the thicket, it was not in ſafety we trod—the vile

ſavage thirſted for blood, lurked in our paths, and ſeized the unſuſpecting hunter.

" Whilſt we lamented the loſt friend, a brother, a father, a wife, a child became the victim to the barbarian tomahawk—Inſtead of conſolation, a new and greater misfortune deadened the ſenſe of former afflictions. From the union we receive no ſupport; but we impeach not their juſtice. Ineffectual treaties, often renewed, and as often broken by the ſavage nations, ſerved only to ſupply them with the means of our deſtruction.

" But no human cauſe could controul that Providence which had deſtined this weſtern country to be the ſeat of a civilized and happy people. The period of its accompliſhment was diſtant, but it advanced with rapid and incredible ſtrides. We derived ſtrength from our falls, and numbers from our loſſes—the unparalleled fertility of our ſoil made grateful returns, far diſproportioned to the ſlight labour which our

ſafety

ſafety would permit us to beſtow—our fields and herds afford us not only ſufficient ſupport for ourſelves, but alſo for the emigrants, who annually double our numbers, and even a ſurplus ſtill remains for exportation—this ſurplus would be far greater, did not a narrow policy ſhut up our navigation, and diſcourage our induſtry.

" In this ſituation we call for your attention—we beg you to trace the Miſſiſſippi from the ocean — ſurvey the innumerable rivers which water your weſtern territory, and pay their tribute to its greatneſs—examine the luxuriant ſoil which thoſe rivers traverſe. Then we aſk, can the God of Wisdom and Nature have created that vaſt country in vain? Was it for nothing that he bleſſed it with a fertility ſo aſtoniſhing? Did he not provide thoſe great ſtreams which enter into the Miſſiſſippi, and by it communicate with the Atlantic, that other nations might enjoy with us the bleſſings of our prolific ſoil? View the country, and you

will anſwer for yourſelves. But can the preſumptuous madneſs of man imagine a policy inconſiſtent with the immenſe deſigns of the DEITY? Americans cannot.

"As it is the natural right to the inhabitants of this country to navigate the Miſſiſſippi, ſo they have alſo a right derived from treaties and national compacts.

"By the treaty of peace, concluded in the year 1763, between the crowns of Great Britain, France, and Spain, the free navigation of the river Miſſiſſippi was aſcertained to Great Britain.

"The right thus aſcertained was exerciſed by the ſubjects of that crown, until the peace of 1783, and conjointly with them by the citizens of the United States. By the treaty, in which Great Britain acknowledged the independency of the United States, ſhe alſo conceded to them the free navigation of the Miſſiſſippi.

"It was a right naturally and eſſentially annexed to the poſſeſſion of the weſtern country.

country. As ſuch it was claimed by America, and it was upon that principle ſhe obtained it. Yet the court of Spain, who poſſeſs the country at the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, have obſtructed your citizens in the enjoyment of that right.

"If policy is the motive which actuates political conduct, will you ſupport this right, and thereby enable us to aſſiſt in the ſupport of government?

"If you will be really our fathers, ſtretch forth your hands to ſave us—if you would be worthy guardians, defend our rights. We are a member, that would exert every muſcle for your ſervice. Do not cut us off from your body. By every tie of conſanguinity and affection, by the remembrance of the blood which we have mingled in the common cauſe, by a regard to juſtice, and to policy, we conjure you to procure our rights.

"May your councils be guided by wiſdom and juſtice, and may your determination

tion be marked with deciſion and effect! Let not your beneficence be circumſcribed by the mountains which divide us; but let us feel that you are really the guardians and aſſerters of our rights. Then you would ſecure the prayers of the people, whoſe gratitude would be as warm as their vindications of their rights will be eternal—Then our connection ſhall be perpetuated to the lateſt times, a monument of your juſtice, and a terror to your enemies."

The firſt edition of this work having excited a general curioſity reſpecting the Weſtern country of the United States of America, but more particularly that of the State of Kentucky, the Editor has thought it would not be unwelcome to the Public to annex an appendix, containing a deſcription of Kentucky by Filſon, publiſhed in America 1784; from which Morſe and all other writers (our author excepted) ſince that æra, have taken

their

their information, concerning the developement of the firſt riſe and progreſs of a State, the circumſtances of which are ſo truly aſtoniſhing.

The propriety of adopting theſe motives were enforced by the peculiar energy which a corroboration of accounts, ſo wonderful in the eſtimation of Europeans produces, and which the two works poſſeſs, that it muſt be impreſſed upon the mind of every intelligent reader, who ſometimes fear the ardour of the authors imagination may exceed the juſt limits of truth and preciſion; and the juſtneſs of theſe accounts are farther ſtrengthened by a narrative, comprehended within this Appendix, written in a ſtyle of the utmoſt ſimplicity, by a man, who was one of the Hunters who firſt penetrated into the boſom of that delectable region.

TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION,

&c. &c. &c.

LETTER I.

MY DEAR FRIEND, KENTUCKY.

THE taſk you have given me, however difficult, I undertake with the greateſt pleaſure, as it will afford me an opportunity of contraſting the ſimple manners, and rational life of the Americans, in theſe back ſettlements, with the diſtorted and unnatural habits of the Europeans: which have flowed no doubt from the univerſally bad laws which exiſt on your continent, and from that pernicious ſyſtem of blending religion with politics, which has been productive of univerſal depravity.

While ignorance continued to darken the horizon of Europe, prieſtcraft ſeems to have forged fetters for the human mind, and, in the ſecurity of its own omnipotence, to have given a ſtamp to the writings, and opinions of men, that rivetted the tyranny of thoſe ingenious ſophiſts--- The conſequence has been lamentable in the extreme.

There are æras favourable to the riſe of new governments; and though nature is governed by invariable laws, the fortune of men and ſtates appear frequently under the dominion of chances: but happily for mankind, when the American empire was forming, philoſophy pervaded the genius of Europe, and the radiance of her features moulded the minds of men into a more rational order.

It was the zenith of your power, and the inflated grandeur of viſionary plans for dominion, which the remains of gothic tyranny produced, that gave occaſion to the riſe of our independence. We claim no merit or ſuperior wiſdom in avoiding the complication of laws which diſgraces the courts of Great Britain, as well as the reſt of Europe.

We have only appropriated the advantages of new lights, as they have ſhone upon us; which you have an equal chance of doing; and your not doing it, muſt remain a monument of your folly, calculated to excite the aſtoniſhment and indignation of a more manly progeny. However, I ſhall leave this ſubject for the preſent, and proceed in order in the hiſtory, &c. &c. which you requeſt; hoping that you will be content to receive my remarks by letter, from time to time, as I may find an opportunity of ſending them.

The veſtiges of civilization deſcribed by Carver and others, on this ſide of the Allegany mountains, are intirely imaginary. Every mark that is human has the feature of barbariſm, and every compariſon of the natives and animals, with thoſe of the old world, tends to confirm the opinion of thoſe ſenſible men (ſome of whom wrote more than a century ago) who thought that America was peopled from Scythia, by the ſtreights of Kamtſchatka: which opinion has been followed by your judicious natural hiſtorian Pennant, in his preface to his Artic Zoology. They ſay, firſt, " America has always been better

peopled on the ſide towards Aſia, than on that towards Europe: Secondly, The genius of the Americans has a greater conformity to that of the Tartars, who never applied themſelves to arts: Thirdly, The colour of both is pretty much alike; it is certain that the difference is not conſiderable, and is perhaps the effect of the climate, and of thoſe mixtures with which the Americans rub themſelves: Fourthly, The wild beaſts which are ſeen in America, and which cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have been tranſported thither by ſea, could only have come by the way of Tartary." An addition to theſe arguments is, that the biſon of Scythia, and what is called the buffalo in America, are preciſely the ſame ſpecies of animal; beſides, the animals of both countries bear the ſtrongeſt reſemblance to each other.

Every thing tends to convince us, that the world is in an infant ſtate. If it is ſubject to change only from the gradual wear which the operations of the elements neceſſarily produce, and which is ſo inſenſible as to require us to contemplate the immenſity of time and ſpace to comprehend a

cauſe for the alterations we diſcover, ſtill the various phænomena, which are every where to be found, both on the ſurface and in the bowels of the earth, afford ſufficient proof that there has been a recent alteration upon the face of the globe. Whether or not mankind came originally from the Eaſt ſignifies little. It is, however, certain, that Europe was in its infancy three thouſand years ago; and that America was ſtill leſs advanced to maturity, I believe alſo will be acknowledged; though the barbariſm of the one, and the comparative civilization of the other, is no argument: for, let our hemiſphere have been peopled as it would, it had the diſadvantage of having no poliſhed country in the neighbourhood of its vaſt extent of dominion; and if it received emigrants from Tartary, they were equally ſavage with themſelves; or if from the wreck of a Chineſe, or Japaneſe veſſel, they ſeem to have been too rare (if ever) to have been productive of much good to the Americans. The idea of the Incas of Peru being of Chineſe origin merits no conſideration.

That man poſſeſſes from nature the talents ne-

ceſſary to his own civilization, and that perfection of philoſophy and reaſon which dignifies his nature, admits, I ſhould conceive, of no diſpute.

In all countries which wear the marks of age, men ſeem always to have been advancing their improvements for the comfort and order of ſociety. Adventitious circumſtances have rapidly encreaſed them in modern times in the old world, while they have retarded them in the new, among the natives. The improvements in navigation led to the overthrow of two empires in America which had attained conſiderable improvements; and if the natives which ſtill remain are barbarous, we muſt, in juſtice to human nature, allow that the contempt with which the Whites have always treated them, and the nefarious policy of encouraging their fury for intoxication, have proved the only cauſe of it. This produced ſuch an effect, that the population of the Indian nations, had decreaſed more than a twentieth nearly a century ago, according to the account of Charlevoix.

While Spain was practiſing the moſt odious tyranny, and ſacrilegious inhumanity under the cloak

cloak of a deteſtable religion, over millions of the miſerable Americans, gorging an inſatiable avarice in the glittering mines of the new world, England and France, with more humanity, opened ſettlements in North America. Other European powers had ſome part in theſe ſettlements; but, after ſome changes previous to the beginning of the preſent century, England ſeems to have been left in quiet poſſeſſion of the country lying upon the Atlantic coaſt from Eaſt Florida to the Bay of Fundy. The French, in the mean time, were rearing a colony in the unhoſpitable and frozen foreſts of Canada. The ambition of Lewis XIV. and the dazzling ſcenery which the grandeur of his projects diſplayed, alone could have prompted that people to have perſevered in ſo ruinous an undertaking. But in purſuing the great object of that voracious tyrant, the river St. Lawrence was aſcended, Lake Ontario was traverſed, the falls of Niagara were paſſed, and following the waters which lead to the Miſſiſſippi river, the delectable country of Louiſiana opened in all the ſplendour and variety of its charms.

After the treaty of Utrecht, both nations con-

tinued quietly the object of aggrandizement. The plan of France was inſidious. In poſſeſſion of the mouth of the river Miſſiſſippi, which empties into the Gulf of Mexico in about lat. 29°, and the river St. Lawrence, which empties into the ſea between Cape North and the coaſt of Labrador, to the northward of lat. 48°, ſhe ſeems to have contemplated the conſolidation of this vaſt empire. Miſſionaries were every where employed to convert the natives; and ſo ſucceſsful were they, that a perſon, even in times of hoſtility, ſpeaking French, will find ſecurity from the atachment of the people to every thing which is French.

The miſcarriage of the celebrated ſcheme of Law, for ſettling Louiſiana, for a time retarded the progreſs of that coloſſian plan. But the communication between Canada and Louiſiana being fixed and ſecured by fortreſſes at Niagara and Detroit, and the Indians being univerſally friendly to the French, the features of the Titan was diſcovered in their erecting Fort Du Queſne at the junction of the Mononahala and Allegany rivers, which form the Ohio. This led to the

war

war between England and France in the year 1755, you may well recollect. But though that war terminated ſo glorioufly for Great Britain, and ſecurely for the then colonies, ſtill we remained ignorant of the whole of the fine country lying between the high hills, which riſe from Great Sandy river, approximate the Allegany mountain, and extending down the Ohio to its confluence with the Miſſiſſippi, and back to thoſe ridges of mountains which traverſe America in a S. W. b. W. direction, until they are loſt in the flat lands of Weſt Florida. However, Indian traders, and certain men, called Long Hunters, from Virginia and North Carolina, by penetrating theſe mountains (which ramify into a country 200 miles over from eaſt to weſt, called the Wilderneſs), were faſcinated with the beauty and luxuriance of the country on the weſtern ſide, which their enraptured imaginations could not find words ſufficient to depict.

A grant had been ſold by the Six Nations of Indians to ſome Britiſh commiſſioners at Fort Stanwix in 1768, which comprehended this country, and which afforded the Americans a pretext

for

for a right to ſettle it; but it was not yet ſufficiently known, and thoſe Indian nations who were not concerned in the grant, became diſſatisfied with the proſpect of a ſettlement which might become ſo dangerous a thorn in their ſide, and committed ſome maſſacres upon the firſt explorers of the country. However, after the expedition of Lord Dunmore in 1774, and the battle at the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, between the army of Col. Lewis and the confederated tribes of Indians (in which theſe intrepid people ſuffered ſeverely), they were in ſome meaſure quiet. The aſſembly of Virginia began now to encourage the peopling that diſtrict of country called Kentucky, from the name of a river which runs nearly through the middle of it *. This encouragement conſiſted in offering 400 acres of land to every perſon who engaged to build a cabin, clear a piece of land, and produce a crop of Indian corn. This was called a ſettlement right. Some hundreds of theſe ſettlements were made;

* This river is about 250 yards wide at its mouth, and is navigable for upwards of 130 miles; its current is conſiderably rapid.

but

but, in the mean time, Mr. Richard Henderſon of North Carolina, a man of no inconſiderable abilities, and more enterpriſe, had obtained a grant from the Cherokee tribe of Indians for this ſame tract of country; and though it was contrary to the laws of the land for any private citizen to make purchaſes of the Indians, ſtill Mr. Henderſon perſevered in his intention of eſtabliſhing a colony of his own. To the inhabitants he intended to grant the power of making their own laws, while he retained the executive authority in his own hands. He actually took poſſeſſion of the country, with many of his followers, where he remained pretty quiet, making very little improvement, Virginia being at that time entirely occupied with the war which had commenced between Great Britain and the Confederated States. Moſt of the young men from the back ſettlements of Virginia and Pennſylvania, who would have migrated to this country, having engaged in the war, formed that body of men called Rifle-men; which not only checked the growth of the ſettlement, but ſo dried up the ſources of emigration, that it was near being annihilated by the fury of the

the ſavages, who were hurried on by the emiſſaries of the government of Canada.

Though a conſiderable number of inhabitants had fled from the different ſtates to this country, in ſearch of an aſylum againſt the calamities of the war on the other ſide of the mountains in 1778, 1779, and 1780, yet ſo diſtreſſed was the ſettlement during this laſt year, after a rigorous winter (which had been more than uſually ſevere upon the continent), that the ſettlers judged right, when they determined to abandon the country for ever; but they were diverted from this ſtep by a ſeaſonable reinforcement of emigrants, after having experienced every horror which a ſanguinary war can produce.

The legality of Mr. Henderſon's claim was inveſtigated by the ſtate of Virgina in 1781; and though there could be no ſort of equity in it, he having acted in contempt of the ſtate, the legiſlature, to avoid feuds or diſturbances (for Henderſon ſtill had influence), agreed, as an indemnification for the expence and trouble he had been at, that he ſhould be allowed a tract of country twelve miles ſquare, lying in the forks

of

of the Ohio and Green rivers: a tract of his own chuſing.

Virginia gave farther rewards and encouragements at this time to the firſt ſettlers, for the perils they had undergone in the eſtabliſhment of their ſettlement, of a tract of 1000 acres, called a pre-emption right, to be laid off adjoining to the ſettlement of 400 acres, the grantee only paying office fees for the ſame *. At this period

* At this time, what was called Continental Currency, was reduced to as low a rate as 500 for one; nay, I believe 1000 was a more common exchange. This circumſtance, though it had its good effects, ſo far as it tended to accelerate the ſettlement of the country, ſtill was productive of no ſmall degree of evil and injuſtice. For in conſequence of the great quantity of this money, which lay dead in the hands of individuals, it was no ſooner known in the different ſtates, that Virginia held out an opportunity to them of obtaining a conſideration for this depreciated currency, than it was ſent to the treaſury of that ſtate in ſuch quantities, and given for land warrants, that in a ſhort time more of them were iſſued than would have covered half the territory within its limits.

Previous to this æra, great part of the valuable land in the diſtrict of Kentucky, had been either taken up on old military grants, and pre-emption rights, or located by thoſe who had been firſt in obtaining their warrants; for it required ſome time for the buſineſs to extend itſelf, and become generally known and underſtood.

In conſequence, a large proportion of the holders of treaſury warrants

period (i. e. 1781), a land office was opened by the ſtate, granting warrants for any quantity of unlocated

warrants were diſappointed, when they determined, if they could not obtain prime land, they would lay their warrants upon ſuch as was vacant, however ſteril, which doubtleſs was proper; for though the warrants had coſt them only a nominal value, nor was the ſtate of Virginia ſenſible of the dangerous avenue they were opening to fraudulent practices, yet it was poſſible, in an extenſive tract of mountainous country, there might be in the valleys, or between the hills, ſome bottom land which, in the progreſs of ſettlements, would be of value. But they did not ſtop here; for finding a general ſpirit of migration was taking place from every part of the Atlantic, to the Weſtern country, and that the reputation of the fine lands upon the Ohio, particularly thoſe of Kentucky, were every day advancing in eſtimation, they determined to have their ſurveys made out in the moſt artful manner, by having for corner trees, ſuch kinds as are never known to grow but in the moſt fertile ſoil, and which may always be found in the narrow ſtrips of bottom land, and the plots embelliſhed with the greateſt elegance, diſplaying fine water courſes, mill ſeats (where perhaps there will not be a grain of corn for half a century to come), plains, groves and meadows.

Hence proceeded ſo generally the buſineſs of land-jobbing—hence it is that there is to be ſeen in the Mercuries throughout Europe, ſuch immenſe tracts of land in America offered for ſale—and hence it is that ſo many perſons have cauſe to complain of having been deceived in the accounts which have been given of land they have purchaſed.

I had given ſuch an account in this work, of the good and indifferent veins of land, which I believed would have directed every purchaſer of ſuch land againſt the danger of impoſition; but

unlocated land, upon condition of certain ſums of the depreciated continental currency being paid

but as I have been informed, that land-jobbers have conſidered it as a work favourable to their views, I ſhall here make ſome remarks, which, if attended to, will infallibly prevent frauds.

The country that ſeparates the back countries of Virginia from Kentucky, is, the greater part of it, mountainous, and through which, to its champaign lands, is nearly 150 miles, the whole of that tract of wilderneſs extending from Holſton nearly north, croſſing Great Sandy River, the Great and Little Kanhaways, quite into the fine lands in the diſtrict belonging to Pennſylvania, excluſive of ſome ſmall tracts in the upper countries of Virginia upon the Ohio, all of which are occupied, is altogether broken into high, rugged, and barren hills, the bottoms excepted, and, in all probability, will not be inhabited for centuries to come, by reaſon of the immenſe tracts of good land lying weſt of the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi; and that tract of country lying ſoutherly from Holſton, and extending to Cumberland, Powell's Valley, Nolachuſcky French-broad, and Clinch excepted, is little better.

Beſides, Kentucky itſelf extends a conſiderable diſtance into theſe broken tracts of country, and perhaps it is only poſſible for a ſtranger to guard againſt impoſition, by making one of the conditions of his contract, that it ſhall be of ſuch a rate of land. *i. e.* The different ſoils have been claſſed by the general conſent of the people, and are well underſtood by the diſtinction of firſt, ſecond, third and fourth rate land; the laſt is the loweſt rate, I am convinced, that any perſon would ſettle upon, and the difference of its value, in my opinion, is as two to one in the ratio of its rate.

Now, the greater part of the broken tracts of country would not come under either of theſe denominations; conſequently, if

paid into the treaſury, at ſo much for an hundred acres. The great plenty, and little value, of this money, ſoon cauſed the whole country to be located, which was one of the material cauſes of its rapid population.

It was neceſſary, in the management of this buſineſs, that care ſhould be taken to prevent that perplexity and litigation, which the vague manner in which that buſineſs was executed in many inſtances, would neceſſarily produce. For this purpoſe, three principal ſurveyors were appointed, who were to lay, or cauſe to be laid off, by their deputies, the different locations within the limits of their diſtricts: this being done, and recorded in the office, the original ſurvey was ſent to the deputy regiſter's office, there to be recorded, where it muſt be ſix months, from which it was ſent to the principal regiſter's office at Richmond, the ſeat of government, there to remain three months, in order that any perſon having a claim, by virtue of a prior location,

if theſe hints ſhould be attended to, and ſufficient ſecurity given for a performance of the agreement of the contracting parties upon ſuch principles, to which no honeſt perſon would object, impoſition would be effectually prevented.

might

might have an opportunity to enter a caveat, and prevent a ſurreptitious grant from iſſuing. Commiſſioners were alſo ſent to adjuſt the claims of ſettlement and pre-emption rights; by which means order was preſerved, and the government of a diſtrict of country, detached, and ſeparated at that time more than 200 miles from any other ſettled country—a country which had grown up under the devaſtation of a moſt barbarous Indian and civil war, and under the miſeries of famine and diſtreſs, ſettled by all orders of men in the United States, men of different intereſts, and different politics, was preſerved; and the order and quiet, which prevailed in 1784, was ſufficient to have induced a ſtranger to have believed that he was living under an old ſettled government. Such is the ſcience of juriſprudence, when it works upon ſimple, but ſubſtantial ſprings. Hence ariſe harmony without expence, and equity without litigation. Here are no muſty forms, to lead you into labyrinths of doubt and perplexity, no contradictory caſes and reports to diſtract your opinions:—our deciſions are governed by acts of the legiſlature, decreed upon the elementary principles of truth and juſtice.

After the peace between Great Britain and the United States in 1783, the ſettlement of Kentucky was conſidered as formed; but it was not yet determined, whether it was to be an appendage of Virginia or not. The United States claimed the back country as the property of the whole union, which ſhould be appropriated to the uſe of the federal government; but Virginia urged the right of the charter granted by James I. which deſcribed its boundaries in this ſtrange way.---To commence at a point ſouthward of the capes of Cheſapeak Bay, in lat. 36½° running due weſt from thence, then ſetting off from the ſaid beginning, and running to lat. 37° 57′ upon the coaſt, which is a little to the northward of the ſaid capes, and then running a north-weſt courſe. This indefinite grant, having no actual boundaries, ſeems to have originated in the belief of the times of its birth, *i. e.* that the Atlantic and Pacific oceans were only divided by a narrow tract of country. This grant forming a kind of obtuſe angle, expanding as it advanced weſtward, comprehended the whole of the fine country on both ſides of the Ohio. But, in order to adjuſt all

diſputes, the ſtate of Virginia offered to concede the country weſtward of the Ohio, provided that other individual ſtates, holding back lands, would give up theirs, and the whole of the country comprehended within the preſent limits of the ſtate, on the eaſtern ſide of the river Ohio, ſhould be guaranteed to them by Congreſs. This was done; and thus the federal government became poſſeſſed of all the back lands in America.

Thus ſtood matters reſpecting Kentucky the latter end of 1783. As it is neceſſary for me to take a retroſpective glance of the progreſs of peopling ſeveral other parts of the weſtern country, I muſt beg your indulgence and time for another letter. In the mean time, believe me to be devoted to your wiſhes.

I am, moſt ſincerely,

Your's, &c.

LETTER II.

MY DEAR FRIEND, KENTUCKY.

THE memorable defeat of General Braddock retarded, for ſome little time, our opportunities of acquiring a further knowledge of the country on the ſources of the Ohio. But the taking Fort du Queſne by General Forbes, in 1760, opened to the view of the colonies of that day a new world. Lands were granted by government to the army, for ſervices done during the war, which in a great meaſure, with the garriſoning Fort du Queſne (now called Fort Pitt), contributed to form the firſt Engliſh ſettlement upon the weſtern waters.

After the treaty of Paris in 1763, by which Great Britain obtained a ceſſion of Eaſt and Weſt Florida, and all the country lying eaſt of the Miſſiſſippi, with a right to navigate that river, frequent excurſions had been made from that time down the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi to New Orleans. But in theſe excurſions, which were by water, very little knowledge of the Kentucky country

country had been obtained, except at the Rapids, and ſome few other places upon the banks of the river.

Louiſiana was well known, and many ſettlements were forming, previous to the late war, on the eaſtern ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, above and below the Natchez: ſome troops had been ſtationed in the Illinois, and at Poſt St. Vincent on the Wabaſh river, where the French inhabitants lived and cultivated their little plantations, in the ſtyle of the Patriarchs of old; enjoying the charms of nature, decked in all the ſoft ſimplicity which the genial current of the human ſoul, unſophiſticated by the alloy of European artifice, produces in ſuch elegant and faſcinating variety. They poſſeſſed all the ſocial talents in an eminent degree: and their hoſpitality was ever enlivened with the charms of wit, and the exhilerating juice of the vine *; which grew and flouriſhed

* The Illinois country is in general of a ſuperior ſoil to any part of North America that I have ſeen. It produces fine oak, hickory, cedar, mulberry trees, &c. ſome dying roots, and medicinal plants; hops, and excellent wild grapes; and, in the

flouriſhed to ſuch a degree as to produce wine for exportation. Theſe ſettlements ſtill exiſt; but the ſettlements upon the Miſſiſſippi that were made previous to the war, were broken up by Indians, who inhabit the country between Georgia and Weſt Florida, called the Cherokee, Creeks, Chacktaw, and Chichaſaws nations. Beſides, by the treaty of 1783 between Great Britain and the United States, we acquired the country on the eaſtern ſide of the Miſſiſſippi river, only as low as the commencement of the 32 deg. or to the Natchez; ſo that thoſe ſettlements could not be renewed by the Americans, as both Eaſt and Weſt Florida fell into the hands of Spain by the ſame peace.

The ſouthern limits of Virginia, being lat. 36½ deg. are divided from North Carolina by a line of demarkation in a direct weſt line, until it ſtrikes the Miſſiſſippi a little below its junction with the Ohio. The ſame ridge of mountains which ſeparates Virginia from the weſtern coun-

year 1769, one hundred and ten hogſheads of well taſted and ſtrong wine were made by the French ſettlers from theſe grapes. HUTCHINS.

try,

try, ſeparates the Carolinas alſo; and on this ſide of the mountain, within the limits of North Carolina, the luxuriance of the ſoil, in ſome parts, is equally aſtoniſhing as that of Kentucky. When Lord Cornwallis penetrated into the back parts of that ſtate, many of its inhabitants began to fly over the mountains for ſecurity; and thus commenced the ſettlement called Cumberland, from the name of its river *, which is a conſiderable branch of the Ohio, and joins it not a great way from its mouth. This ſettlement began to form in 1780, and was encouraged by the ſame means as the ſettlement of Kentucky, *i. e.* by ſettlements and pre-emption rights; and now promiſes to become ſecond in magnitude to Kentucky, of all the ſettlements upon the weſtern waters, and in a few years, from its rapid growth, doubtleſs will become a diſtinct ſtate. Such is the rapidity with which this part of the world is peopling.

There are ſettlements ſtill to the ſouthward of this, in what is called the Great Bend of the Te-

* Cumberland river is 250 yards wide at its mouth; its current gentle, and it is navigable upwards of 200 miles from its mouth.

naſee, or the Muſcle Shoals, which have been made without the permiſſion of the federal Government. This is a fine tract of country, and in time muſt become very valuable from its particular ſituation, and the peculiar manner in which the navigation of this country muſt be conducted, concerning which I ſhall expatiate in its proper place. Its proximity to the ſouthern Indians renders it rather dangerous at preſent; but the growing ſtrength of Frenchbroad and Nolachuſky above, upon the waters of the ſame rivers, will ſoon afford ſecurity to every part of the Tenaſee country.

The country of Holſton is ſtill above theſe ſettlements upon the head waters of the ſame river, on the borders of Virginia and North Carolina; and that you may form ſome idea of the proweſs of thoſe people, I will relate a circumſtance, which, perhaps, is not generally known on your ſide of the water. When Lord Cornwallis had advanced, in 1780, into the back parts of North Carolina, he detached Col. Ferguſon with about 500 Britiſh troops, to a place called King's Mountain, in order to give ſecurity to the *faithful* and

loyal

loyal ſubjects of his Majeſty, who were conſiderably oppreſſed by their *unfaithful* countrymen the *rebels*. Col. Campbell, a Virginian, who lived in thoſe back ſettlements, hearing of the rendezvous of the loyaliſts, under the banner of Col. Ferguſon's detachment, at King's Mountain, aſſembled what militia he could, and began his march on horſeback in the evening, without mentioning their deſtination, and by continuing their march, without interceſſion, for upwards of one hundred miles, came up with them the ſecond morning, about the break of day, when their horſes were left at the foot of the mountain with a ſmall guard; his little army, divided into three detachments, were led to ſeparate attacks, and in leſs than half an hour the hill was carried, Col. Ferguſon killed, and the greater part of his detachment made priſoners. Col. Campbell's army amounted to about 500: he took more priſoners. From ſuch ſpecimens, I think thoſe people can have nothing to fear from M'Gilvery.

I have not related this ſtory from vanity, or from the moſt diſtant idea that the Americans are in any reſpect ſuperior to Engliſhmen; ſo far from it,

it, that no man can more warmly admire the true Engliſh than I do: but I have told it as a circumſtance tending to prove, that men feeling the ſpirit of liberty are always ſuperior to ſlaves; and that a well regulated militia are equal to the defence of a country without the expence of ſupporting a ſtanding army, which is not the only inconvenience flowing from ſuch a ſyſtem. How much of the labour and ingenuity of a ſtate is ſacrificed by ſuch a policy! In how many inſtances have the laws and civil authority been trampled upon by the contumely and ignorance of men educated with none but military ideas and habits, and thereby the reſpect due to laws contaminated, and an indignant people awed by a martial phalanx! While a good citizen feels his own inſignificance, the patriotic heart mourns for the ſacrilege committed upon their privileges with that impunity, which the patronage of a ſtanding army affords to the executive power of a ſtate?

We will now return to Kentucky, which is the key-ſtone of the ſettlements upon the waters of the Miſſiſſippi. The years 1783 and 1784 brought

out

out vaſt numbers of emigrants from all parts of America; particularly the latter year, when it was ſuppoſed that in Kentucky alone, not leſs than 12,000 ſouls became ſettlers: ſeveral Europeans from France, England, and Ireland were among the number. The Indians gave us a reſpite, and there ſeemed to be nothing wanting to make us the happieſt people upon earth.

In 1782 the State of Virginia had given us a General Court, with Judges and an Attorney-General, to manage all legal affairs reſpecting the diſtrict, without the trouble and expence of travelling to Richmond, which is diſtant between five and ſix hundred miles, two hundred of which were through an uninhabited wilderneſs. In 1783, 1784, and 1785, great part of the country was ſurveyed and patented, and the people in the interior ſettlements purſued their buſineſs in as much quiet and ſafety as they could have done in any part of Europe. Court-houſes were built in the different counties, and roads were opened for carriages, which ſeven years before had not been ſeen in the country. The only roads hitherto were for ſingle horſes.

In

In 1785 the diſtrict had grown ſo conſiderable from the great number of emigrants which had arrived, and that reſpectability which it had acquired produced a diſpoſition in the inhabitants to become an independent State, and to be admitted as another link in the great federal chain. A convention was immediately formed by ſending deputies from the different counties, who met at our then metropolis, Danville, for the purpoſe of taking the matter into conſideration; when it was determined, after ſome debating, to petition Virginia for that purpoſe. An Act had already paſſed that State, authoriſing any diſtrict of country over the mountains to ſeparate whenever a majority of the inhabitants ſhould wiſh it: but in this inſtance it was urged, by thoſe who were not friendly to the ſeparation, that it was not the wiſh of the majority of the inhabitants of Kentucky to become independent. In fact, many Gentlemen holding conſiderable tracts of land in the diſtrict, who were not reſidents, thought our ſeparation would be premature, particularly as we had courts of juſtice, whoſe juriſdiction was diſtinct from that of Virginia, and the only ſolid complaint

compaint (which, indeed, was a ſerious one) was the diſtance to which we muſt ſend our repreſentatives, and our local ſituation requiring in ſome inſtances a legiſlation, which the majority of the Aſſembly of the State would not be competent to judge of. However, this buſineſs was procraſtinated; for finding, though we might ſeparate whenever we choſe, yet that it was optional with the legiſlature of Virginia to recommend us to be taken into the federal government (which they were not likely to do, and which it was certain could not be done without), we were content to remain as we were for that time.

The federal government in the courſe of this year undertook to lay off the country weſt of the Ohio, in ſuch manner as would anſwer the purpoſe of ſelling the land, and ſettling the country. Peace had been made the preceding year at Fort M'Intoſh, between the United States and the Indians, in which the country upon the Muſkingum, Scioto, and the Great and Little Miami rivers, had been given up by the Indians as a conſideration for former maſſacres, and as neceſſary to produce

duce permanent tranquillity; they finding the United States, by ceſſion from Great Britain, had a right to all the country within the limits deſcribed in the treaty of 1783, and that it would be in vain for them to remonſtrate againſt their peopling it, particularly as it was to Great Britain they were to look to for reſtitution, who had abandoned them when allies, and ſold their country without even conſulting them. But when the ſurveyors began to act, the Indians diſcovered immediate and hoſtile ſigns of diſapprobation, ſome maſſacres were committed, and the buſineſs was put off until the following Spring.

Congreſs as yet had taken no decided meaſures as to the organization of this country, or the mode of parcelling it out, and diſpoſing of it; the diſcontinuance of the late war was ſtill recent, and the multifarious objects which preſented themſelves to an infant Government, not recovered from the ſhocks of a doubtful credit, together with the habitual idleneſs which the profeſſion of arms produces, threw an embarraſſment over all

their

their proceedings. It was in this dilemma that they recommended the meeting of a convention, to be compoſed of deputies from the different States, to aſſemble in Philadelphia in May, 1787, to take into their conſideration the nature and defects of the federal government as it then exiſted. In this examination they found that the old government wanted efficiency, and the total abſence of uniſon between the different States, from local laws and cuſtoms, was productive of delay, and a variety of obſtructions, tending to counteract the concord of confederation.

It was under theſe conſiderations that the preſent federal government aroſe. It has eſtabliſhed one great and important principle for the benefit of mankind, and the extenſion of civilization, which is, that a power may ſo exiſt in a government, as to admit of alteration or change, without danger to the tranquillity of the State; by government recommending to the conſtituent powers of that State, the deputing men to inquire into the radical defects of their conſtitution, and making ſuch alterations as the improved wiſdom

of

of experience may find neceſſary. It is thus in the progreſſion of things that governments will arrive at perfection.

I muſt beg that you will excuſe this digreſſion, as it was neceſſary to account for the delay in proceeding to the ſettlement of the country weſt of the Ohio. This buſineſs took up the greater part of 1787, ſo that it was a year or more before much was done. In the meantime the Indians continued to increaſe their depredations, under a belief, that if once the Whites were ſuffered to eſtabliſh themſelves on their ſide of the Ohio, there would be no end to their incroachments until they became extirpated. In this opinion they were not a little encouraged by the Engliſh traders at Detroit and Niagara, who, from an avarice in human nature hard to be accounted for (but as it degenerates under bad laws and worſe morals), ſeek, in murder and bloodſhed, for the ſale of a few extra pounds of gun-powder and lead. However ſome land had been ſurveyed in 1786 and 1787, and in the latter year a ſettlement was formed upon the Muſkingum, which

may

may be looked upon as the commencement of the American ſettlements upon the weſtern ſide of the Ohio. In 1788 and 1789 ſome farther ſurveying was done; but little ſince has been tranſacted in thoſe parts, except wars between the Indians and the ſettlers. Yet it is to be hoped that the decided meaſures taken by the United States will ſecure peace, which cannot fail to promote proſperity.

Nature in her pride has given to the regions of this fair river a fertility ſo aſtoniſhing, that to believe it, ocular demonſtration becomes neceſſary. During theſe times of barbarous war and maſſacre, the people of Kentucky and Cumberland, ſecured by their numbers and ſtrength, except in their outermoſt plantations, enjoyed perfect ſecurity. The former continued to keep in view the object of her independence, and from the reſpectable figure ſhe has made in the adminiſtration of her affairs, it is at length agreed, that ſhe is to be admitted into the federal union in June 1792.

Having furniſhed you with only an imperfect hiſtory of the manner in which this back country

has been ſettled, I will endeavour, in compliance with your requeſt, to give you a deſcription of its natural and artificial productions. Believe me to be, ſincerely,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER III.

MY DEAR FRIEND, KENTUCKY.

IN caſting your eyes over the map of America, you will diſcover that its weſtern (or middle) country is divided from the Atlantic country by a chain of mountains which riſe in the remote parts of the States of New York and New Jerſey, and run a ſouth-weſterly courſe, until they are loſt (as I obſerved before) in the flat lands of Weſt Florida. The weſtern country is thoſe parts which are watered by the ſtreams running into the Miſſiſſippi.

It is about fifty miles over the Allegany mountain, croſſing by the route which General Braddock took from Fort Cumberland near the Potowmac, at the deſcent into the country of Redſtone on the Monongahala, the ſouthern branch of the Ohio. This river riſes in the ſame mountain conſiderably to the ſouthward, runs nearly parallel with it, the oppoſite way, upwards of one hundred miles, and is navigable for boats nearly to its ſource; the whole of this country

beyond the mountain is extremely fertile, well watered, and abounding with all kinds of timber calculated for building houſes, boats, cabinet work, &c. &c. The ſugar maple tree is intermixed in great quantities. From the foot of the mountain it is about fourteen miles to Redſtone Old Fort, which is on the banks of the Monongahala, and the uſual place of embarkation of people coming down the Ohio, who travel Braddock's road; from thence to Pittſburg is about fifty miles by water. Large tracts of flat land lay all along upon the banks of this river from the Old Fort to Pittſburg, which are capable of being made into extenſive and luxuriant meadow ground.

This country is populous, it being the oldeſt ſettlement, and made immediately after taking Fort du Queſne. The Yohogania empties itſelf into the Monongahala about ſixteen miles above its junction with the Allegany river: the country on this river is more uneven, but in the vallies the ſoil is extremely rich. Near to Pittſburg the country is well peopled, and there, as well as in Redſtone, all the comforts of life are in the greateſt

greateſt abundance. Flour is manufactured in as good a ſtyle as in any part of America; and butter, cheeſe, bacon, and every kind of proviſions can be had in the greateſt quantity. This whole country abounds in coal, which lies almoſt upon the ſurface of the ground: the hills oppoſite Pittſburg upon the banks of the Monongahala, which are at leaſt three hundred feet high, appear to be one ſolid body of this mineral.

This muſt become in time the moſt valuable grazing country in all America from the fertility of its ſoil, its capability of being formed into extenſive meadows, and its proximity to the mountains which attract the clouds, and produce that moiſture ſo neceſſary to graſs;---beſides which, its ſituation is about three hundred miles from Philadelphia, about two hundred and forty from Baltimore, and about two hundred and twenty from the federal city on the Potowmac, a diſtance which is too great to carry by land the bulky articles of huſbandry; but to which cattle may be driven with the greateſt eaſe.

This country has derived no inconſiderable advantage from the ſettlement of Kentucky, and

the other ſettlements that are making on the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi, the great road of migrating from the northern ſtates lying through it: and indeed it is moſt convenient, both from Maryland and Virginia, at all ſeaſons of the year, provided that there be any thing bulky to carry, the paſſage being for the greateſt part by water, and the Potowmac navigable, a few places excepted, to Fort Cumberland; all of which obſtructions will be removed in a few years by canals that are cutting *. From Fort Cumberland it is about ſixty miles land carriage to Redſtone Old Fort; but ſo friendly has nature been to this country, though it is without ſeas, yet the rivers run in ſuch directions that there is ſcarce any place in all the back parts of America where art may not reduce the land carriage to a very ſmall diſtance. I cannot ſpeak upon ſo general a ſubject definitively; but I mean to be underſtood within fifteen leagues. It is aſſerted from the beſt authorities, that the land carriage between the Potowmac and Ohio may be reduced to leſs than twenty miles.

* Thoſe canals will be finiſhed in the courſe of 1793.

Such

Such is the progreſſion of things in this country, while there was apparently no market for its ſuperfluous productions, that every article has ſold extremely well, in conſequence of the number of emigrants who have been continually paſſing down the Ohio.

Down from Pittſburg the country is flat on the banks of the river; but a little diſtance from them it is conſiderably broken, particularly on the north-weſtern ſide. Much good land, however, is interſperſed on the ſouth ſide as far as the approach to the Little Kanhaway, where the nature of the ſoil ſeems reverſed, and the good land is then found on the weſtern ſide upon the Muſkingum. There are ſome ſtrips of rich land upon the Little Kanhaway; but, farther up the river, the country is broken and ſteril, producing ſcarce any other timber than the fir tree, or pine and knotty black oaks, which are generally deemed ſymptoms of a bad ſoil. This tract of bad land extends quite into the mountains in a ſouth direction, and runs ſouth-weſterly as far as Great Sandy river, with little or no variation,

except on the bottoms of the Great Kanhaway *, which are extenſive and rich. The bottoms on the Ohio are every where extenſive and luxuriant. On the weſtern ſide of the river, the country beyond the rich vein of land on the Muſkingum is only tolerable on this ſide of the head waters of the Sciota, which are ſucceeded by as fine a body of land as the imagination can paint. This extends conſiderably near to the Ohio, and running weſtward quite to the Miami, now approximates its banks, and diſplays, in its verdure and variety of majeſtic foreſts, all that beauty and richneſs, which have been ſo much celebrated by travellers who have paſſed through them. The country on the eaſtern ſide, except on the banks of the rivers, is indifferent. There is a body of good land on Great Sandy; but leaving that in a ſouth-weſterly courſe, high,

* This river at its mouth is nearly 500 yards wide, and the current gentle for about 10 or 12 miles, when it becomes conſiderably rapid for upwards of 60 miles farther, where you meet with the firſt falls, when it becomes almoſt impoſſible to navigate it from the great number of obſtructions which its various cataracts preſent.

rugged,

rugged, and broken hills ariſe, which will hardly ever be capable of cultivation: theſe hills extend between thirty and forty miles, and open into the fine lands of Kentucky.

We have travelled now about five hundred miles down the Ohio in its meandering courſe, and we will ſuppoſe ourſelves at Limeſtone, where the champaign country on the eaſtern ſide of the river begins. This is the uſual landing place for people coming down in boats, who mean to ſettle in the upper part of the State, as I ſhall in future call it. It is now neceſſary to look back to that country, which we have travelled through with ſuch rapidity. Pittſburg lies in about lat. 40° 40′, the general courſe of the Ohio is about W. S. W. and the diſtance by land from Pittſburg to Limeſtone is nearly 300 miles. But as the north-eaſtern limits of the State are Great Sandy, which is ſome diſtance above Limeſtone, we may fix them, as nearly as can be, in lat. 39°. I am ſorry I cannot ſpeak with more preciſion, but theſe things have not yet been aſcertained from obſervation.

The eaſt ſide of the Ohio for about ten or twenty

twenty miles below Whealing, which is about one hundred below Pittſburg, is generally well ſettled. There are few ſettlements on the oppoſite ſhore until you come to the Muſkingum, and the country now wears the face of a wilderneſs on both ſides of the river, there being no habitations worth notice, except at the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, until we arrive at Limeſtone.

Every thing here aſſumes a dignity and ſplendour I have never ſeen in any other part of the world. You aſcend a conſiderable diſtance from the ſhore of the Ohio, and when you would ſuppoſe you had arrived at the ſummit of a mountain, you find yourſelf upon an extenſive level. Here an eternal verdure reigns, and the brilliant ſun of lat 39°, piercing through the azure heavens, produces, in this prolific ſoil, an early maturity which is truly aſtoniſhing. Flowers full and perfect, as if they had been cultivated by the hand of a floriſt, with all their captivating odours, and with all the variegated charms that colour and nature can produce, here, in the lap of elegance and beauty, decorate the ſmiling

groves. Soft zephyrs gently breathe on ſweets, and the inhaled air gives a voluptuous glow of health and vigour, that ſeems to raviſh the intoxicated ſenſes. The ſweet ſongſters of the foreſts appear to feel the influence of this genial clime, and, in more ſoft and modulated tones, warble their tender notes in uniſon with love and nature. Every thing here gives delight; and, in that mild effulgence which beams around us, we feel a glow of gratitude for that elevation our all-bountiful Creator has beſtowed upon us. Far from being diſguſted with man for his turpitude or depravity, we feel that dignity nature beſtowed upon us at the creation; but which has been contaminated by the baſe alloy of meanneſs, the concomitant of European education; and what is more lamentable, is, that it is the conſequence of your very laws and governments.

You muſt forgive what I know you will call a rhapſody, but what I really experienced after travelling acroſs the Allegany mountain in March, when it was covered with ſnow, and after finding the country about Pittſburg bare, and not re-

covered

covered from the ravages of winter: there was ſcarcely a blade of graſs to be ſeen; every thing looked dreary, and bore thoſe marks of melancholy which the rude hand of froſt produces. I embarked immediately for Kentucky, and in leſs than five days landed at Limeſtone, where I found nature robed in all her charms.

It naturally ſtruck me there muſt be ſomething in climate that debaſed or elevated the human ſoul; and that chill penury which a ſteril country and damp cold climate produces, in accumulating the wants of men, had increaſed their dependence, which at once ſaps the firſt principles of man. I conceived in the infancy of the world, that men in temperate climates had retained their freedom longeſt. Thus in England you have enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare of liberty, while almoſt all Europe have ſuffered under the fetters of an odious deſpotiſm. The perfection of arts will meliorate the condition of man in every part of the world; but the amelioration of government and education muſt take place before he will be able to reſume his priſtine dignity.

From

From Limeſtone to Licking creek * the country is immenſely rich, and covered with cane, rye graſs, and the native clover. The cane is a reed that grows to the heighth frequently of fifteen or ſixteen feet, but more generally about ten or twelve feet, and is in thickneſs from the ſize of a gooſe-quill to that of two inches diameter; ſometimes, yet ſeldom, it is larger. When it is ſlender, it never grows higher than from four to ſeven feet; it ſhoots up in one ſummer, but produces no leaves until the following year. It is an evergreen, and is, perhaps, the moſt nouriſhing food for cattle upon earth. No other milk or butter has ſuch flavour and richneſs as that which is produced from cows which feed upon cane. Horſes which feed upon it work nearly as well as if they were fed upon corn, provided care is taken to give them once in three or four days a handful of ſalt, otherwiſe this food is liable to heat, and bind their bowels. The rye graſs, when it arrives to maturity, is from two feet and a half high to three

* This river is about 200 yards wide at its mouth, and its principal branch is navigable nearly 70 miles.

and

and a half, and the head and beard reſemble the real rye, and ſometimes produce a ſmall grain long and ſlender not unlike rye. Whether cultivation would bring it to the ſame perfection, I can form no idea; it is however certain that it is a very good and valuable graſs. The clover is in no reſpect different from the clover in Europe, but as it is more coarſe and luxuriant. There is a variety of other kinds of graſs, which are found in different places; but I have only mentioned the two former, they being eſteemed the moſt valuable.

In order to travel into the interior parts of the State the route lies acroſs the branches of Licking creek. There are ſeveral of them which take their riſe in the high hills of Great Sandy, and the ſpurs of the Allegany mountain; they traverſe a moſt delightful country, and form a junction a ſmall diſtance below the Lower Blue Lick*. A ſalt ſpring is called a Lick, from the earth about them being furrowed out, in a moſt curious manner, by the buffalo and deer, which

* There are two ſalt ſprings upon Licking, both of which are now worked with ſucceſs.

lick

lick the earth on account of the ſaline particles with which it is impregnated. The country from the Fork to the Ohio is conſiderably broken, but generally rich, and continues uneven, except on the banks of the river, quite to the mouth of the Kentucky, which is about one hundred and ten miles below the mouth of Licking creek by water, and ſeventy above the Rapids of the Ohio. Between the mouths of Licking and Kentucky lies the Great Bone Lick, which is juſtly celebrated for the remarkable bones which are found there, and which gave name to the place. Several of thoſe bones have been ſent to Europe; but I believe no perſon who has written upon natural hiſtory has given any decided opinion to what claſs of animals they belonged. Buffon has called them the Mammouth; but I am at a loſs to know from what authority, as we have no tradition either oral or written, that gives an account of any ſpecies of animals which were as large as thoſe muſt have been, judging by the magnitude of the bones. Buffon ſays, that ſimilar bones have been found both in Ireland (if I am not miſtaken) and in ſome part of Aſia.

It

It appears ſomewhat extraordinary, at the firſt view, that we ſhould diſcover manifeſt proofs of there having exiſted animals of which we can form no adequate idea, and which in ſize muſt have far exceeded any thing now known upon earth; and thoſe ſigns too, in climates where the elephant (the largeſt animal now in exiſtence) is never found. Every phænomenon upon the earth tends to confirm the idea, that it ever has been ſubject to revolutions, beſides its diurnal and annual motion from eaſt to weſt.

After paſſing the Blue Lick, the ſoil, if poſſible, increaſes in richneſs. From thence to Danville is about fifty miles. Lexington lies about midway, and is nearly central of the fineſt and moſt luxuriant country, perhaps, on earth. From Lexington to Leeſburg is about twenty miles; to Boonſbury it is about twenty; the Upper Blue Lick nearly thirty. This ſquare, which is nearly fifty miles, comprehends entirely what is called firſt rate land. Leeſburg lies on the Kentucky, about twenty miles from its mouth by land, and nearly forty by water. The country between that and the Ohio is broken, but rich,

rich, though it is not deemed a valuable body of land. The Kentucky is bound every where by high rocky precipices, that are generally two hundred feet and upwards perpendicular, and which makes its paſſes difficult. Few places on it have any bottom land, as the rock riſes moſtly contiguous to the bed of the river; which confinement, after heavy rains, renders it very formidable from the impetuoſity of its current. On aſcending the banks of this river, the land on either ſide is equally good for ſome diſtance above Boonſburg; but adjacent to the mountains from whence the river riſes, the country becomes broken, ſteril, and of little or no value. Boonſburg lies on the Kentucky, about ſixty miles above its mouth by land, and about one hundred and thirty by water. From Leeſburg down the river on the ſouth ſide, for about ten or twelve miles, the hills are conſiderably high and ſteep; but when you paſs the waters of Drinnon's Lick creek, you fall into a body of good champaign land, which extends, with little variation, to the Rapids of the Ohio. From Leeſburg to Danville, the country, for the firſt twenty miles, is of an

inferior rate of land for this country; but farther on, you get into the rich country I have mentioned, comprehended within the ſquare of fifty miles.

Lage bodies of good land lie on every ſide of Danville for twenty miles and upwards; but in the courſe from thence to the Rapids of the Ohio, on the waters of Salt river (which takes its name from a ſalt ſpring, called Bullit's Lick, that is on its banks, about twenty miles from the mouth of the river) the country is, in ſome places, broken into ridges of hills, which are in general good land, but not well watered. As you approach the Rapids it becomes more level, better watered, and the ſoil more fertile. The country of Beargraſs is beautiful and rich; as, indeed, is the land on Gooſe and Harrod's creeks. In the fork of the Ohio and Salt river, which form a junction about twenty miles below the Rapids, the country is flat, and interſperſed with ſmall lakes or ponds, occaſioned by the extreme lowneſs of the banks of the Ohio in this fork, which, when flooded, overflows the country, and the water fills theſe ponds periodically, or as often

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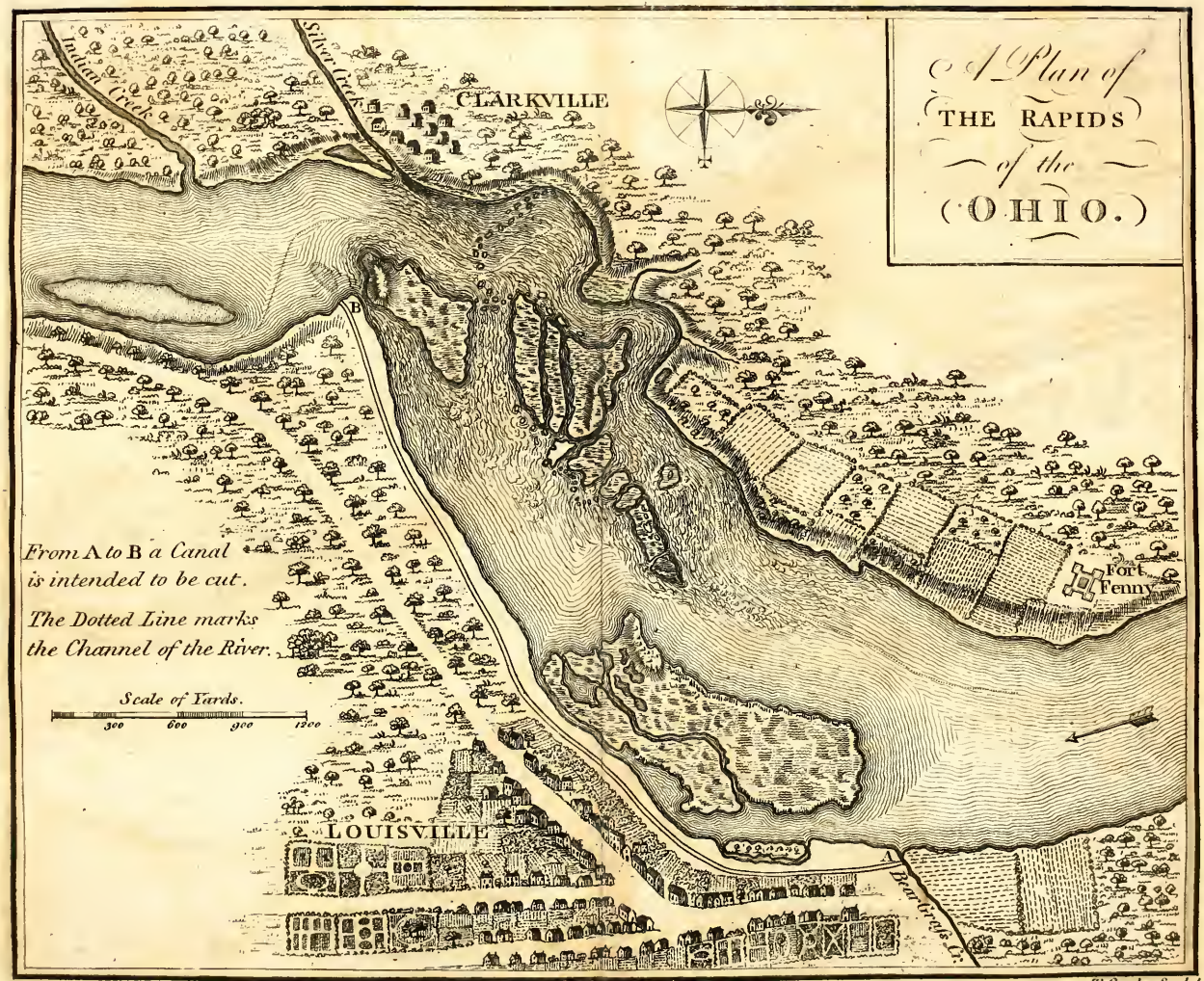
Engraved for Imlay's American Topography.



T. Conder Sculp.

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as thoſe inundations happen, and which are frequent from December until April.

The Rapids of the Ohio lie about ſeven hundred miles below Pittſburg, and about four hundred above its confluence with the Miſſiſſippi. They are occaſioned by a ledge of rocks that ſtretch acroſs the bed of the river from one ſide to the other, in ſome places projecting ſo much, that they are viſible when the water is not high, and in moſt places when the river is extremely low. The fall is not more than between four and five feet in the diſtance of a mile; ſo that boats of any burthen may paſs with ſafety when there is a flood; but boats coming up the river muſt unload; which inconvenience may very eaſily be removed by cutting a canal from the mouth of Beargraſs, the upper ſide of the Rapids, to below the lower reef of rocks, which is not quite two miles, and the country a gentle declivity the whole way. A view of the Rapids are pointed out in the annexed plate, in which is marked the propoſed canal.

The ſituation of the Rapids is truly delightful. The river is full a mile wide, and the fall of wa-

ter, which is an eternal caſcade, appears as if nature had deſigned it to ſhew how inimitable and ſtupendous are her works. Its breadth contributes to its ſublimity; and the continually rumbling noiſe tends to exhilerate the ſpirits, and gives a cheerfulneſs even to ſluggards. The view up the river is terminated, at the diſtance of four leagues, by an iſland in its centre, which is contraſted by the plain on the oppoſite ſhore, that extends a long way into the country; but the eye receding, finds new beauties, and ample ſubject for admiration, in the riſing hills of Silver creek, which, ſtretching obliquely to the north-weſt, proudly riſe higher and higher as they extend, until their illumined ſummits imperceptibly vaniſh. Clarkville, on the oppoſite ſhore, completes the proſpect, and from its neighbourhood, and from the ſettlement forming upon the Officers land, a few years muſt afford us a cultivated country, to blend appropriate beauty with the charms of the imagination. There lies a ſmall iſland in the river about two hundred yards from the eaſtern ſhore; between which and the main is a quarry of excellent ſtone for building, and

in

in great part is dry the latter part of ſummer. The banks of the river are never overflowed here, they being fifty feet higher than the bed of the river. There is no doubt but it will ſoon become a flouriſhing town: there are already upwards of two hundred good houſes built. This town is called Louiſville.

I omitted to mention, that when the State of Virginia conceded the country weſt of the Ohio to the United States, ſhe reſerved a tract of country lying oppoſite to the Rapids, for thoſe officers and ſoldiers called State troops, and who had been immediately employed in the weſtern country.

Having left the country on the weſtern ſide of the Ohio at the Miami, I ſhall continue my deſcription of the country on this ſide, as far as my knowledge extends, and will then proceed upwards.

In leaving the Rapids in a ſouth-weſterly direction the country is flat, it bordering upon the country I have deſcribed in the fork of the Ohio and Salt rivers. After paſſing the main branch

of the Salt river * near Bullitt's Lick, ten miles diſtant, in the fork of the north and ſouth branches, the country becomes broken and hilly; but between which and the Cumberland road, that leads from the upper parts of Kentucky, there is a conſiderable extent of fine land; but travelling a few leagues farther ſouthward, you arrive at extenſive plains, that extend upwards of one hundred and fifty miles in a ſouth-weſt courſe, and end only when they join the mountainous country. Some few clumps of trees, and a grove here and there, are the only obſtructions to a boundleſs horizon. It is pleaſant to behold the deer bounding over the ſcraggy ſhrubs which cover the earth. While the ſetting ſun gilds thoſe extenſive plains, the mild breezes of a ſummer's eve, playing upon the enraptured ſenſes, ſoftens the heart to love and friendſhip. Unperceived, upon ſome eminence, you may enjoy the ſports of wild animals, which here rove unconcerned lords of the field. Heavens! what

* This river is about 150 yards wide at its mouth, its current is gentle, and its principal branch is navigable about 60 miles.

charms

charms are there in liberty! Man, born to enſlave the ſubordinate animals, has long ſince enſlaved himſelf. But reaſon at length, in radiant ſmiles, and with graceful pride, illumines both hemiſpheres; and FREEDOM, in golden plumes, and in her triumphal car, muſt now reſume her long loſt empire.

We now have arrived upon the waters of Green river: at the mouth of which, and between that and the Ohio, lies Henderſon's grant of twelve miles ſquare, as I mentioned. The plains extend beyond the head waters of this river quite into the limits of North Carolina; but at the mouth, and for forty miles above, there is a large proportion of good land, particularly upon Panther creek. From the mouth of Green river * up the Ohio to Salt river, the land upon the banks of the Ohio is generally fertile and rich: but leaving its banks you ſoon fall into the plain country, which is conſidered as little better than barren land. However, it is moſt likely that it will prove excellent for ſheep to feed upon,

* Green river is upwards of 200 yards wide at its mouth, its current is gentle, and it is navigable nearly 150 miles.

the climate being nearly the ſame as that of Spain, where the fineſt wool in Europe is produced. And though the land is not reckoned valuable in this country, on account of its comparative ſterility, yet it is of a ſuperior quality to great part of the ſoil in the lower parts of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. It abounds with hazel, which, it is well known, never grows kindly in a poor ſoil.

The native ſtrawberry is found in theſe plains in the greateſt abundance, as are likewiſe plums of different ſorts; and, if we can form any idea of the native grape that grows ſpontaneouſly here, what the ſame ſoil is capable of producing when they are cultivated, it would appear that no climate or ſoil in the world is more congenial to the vine; for I have never taſted more delicious grapes; and it is the opinion of ſome judicious foreigners, who have viſited theſe genial regions, that as good wine as can be made in any part of the globe, might be produced from the native grape properly cultivated. There is nothing more common than to meet with a pleaſant wine made here by the ſettlers, who know

know nothing of the uſe of vats, or the degree of fermentation neceſſary to the perfection of the art of wine making. But, I flatter myſelf ſome progreſs will be made in this buſineſs, as ſeveral foreigners have long had it in agitation to undertake it.

The country between Green and Cumberland rivers is generaly rich, and finely watered. There is in it a moſt valuable lead mine, and ſeveral ſalt ſprings; and between Green and Salt rivers there are two of a bitumen, which, when analyzed, is found to be amber. But, ſo much do we ſtand in need of chymiſts, and mineraliſts, that we remain ignorant of the properties and value of many foſſils which have been diſcovered; and many continue unknown, I apprehend, from the want of curioſity of men whoſe only object ſeems to be cultivation, and the ſcience of government. Perhaps theſe are the moſt eſſential to the happineſs of men in the wild ſtate which this country is in. Arts appear to follow population. Neceſſity has been the mother of invention, it is true; but from the attainment of that perfection to which we have arrived in arts and philoſophy,

philoſophy, wiſdom and ſcience muſt go forward. It is phyſically impoſſible for man to degenerate to barbariſm.

When the greateſt merit conſiſts in the exerciſe of the moſt uſeful and appropriate talents, I think it is likely that the ingenuity of men will feel a more lively ſtimulus to the exerciſe of invention from the love of fame, the love of mankind, and regard to their own dignity, than it ever yet experienced from neceſſity. While odious diſtinctions exiſt, and men are rewarded in proportion to their ſervility, human nature muſt be robbed of half its manlineſs, and conſequently men will be ſlothful. How many drones do we obſerve in every part of Europe, who feed upon the induſtry of the neceſſitous, who work only as it is neceſſary to their exiſtence! Such have been the effects of the factitious duties of man in your hemiſphere, that every thing has become perverted; and governments, inſtead of ſecuring happineſs to men, have only tended to aggrandize individuals, and thus has flowed in that debaſement of character which has marked half the inhabitants of Europe

rope with little more dignity than brute creatures.

Cumberland river riſes among the mountains, conſiderably to the north-eaſt, and, after its ſeveral branches have joined it, runs a long way ſouth, and enters the limits of North Carolina. After a courſe of half a degree within thoſe limits, it turns to the north-weſt, and empties itſelf into the Ohio, at ſome diſtance above its junction with the Miſſiſſippi. The Tenaſee runs into the Ohio, not a long way below the mouth of Cumberland. The Tenaſee is the moſt important of the ſouthern branches of the Ohio *. Its northern fork, called Holſton, riſes in the country of the ſame name (which I have before mentioned), and, after paſſing through Nolachucky, is joined by the main or ſouth branch. This branch riſes in the remote parts of the

* The Tenaſee is 600 yards wide at its mouth, and upon aſcending it, to the diſtance of 260 miles, it widens to between two and three miles, which width it continues for nearly thirty miles, and which comprehends what is called the Great Bend.

Thus far it is navigable without any obſtruction, and, ſome trifling falls excepted, it may be navigated at leaſt 600 miles farther.

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State of Georgia, and, after traverſing the borders of the Cherokee country, is joined by the Holſton branch, when it is called the Tenaſee: from thence it runs ſouth-weſterly, quite through the limits of North Carolina, and approaches the head waters of the Mobile, which empties itſelf into the Gulf of Mexico. In its courſe, it is very rapid thus far: from the material declivity of the high country, which from mountains gradually ſink into a flat, there is a number of falls, but none of them conſiderable. It now turns again to the northward, and from its lazy motion it is obvious that there is very little fall of water from this to the Ohio. This turn conſtitutes what is called the Great Bend of the Tenaſee, or Muſcle Shoal, from the number of ſhoals in this part of the river that are covered with theſe ſhell-fiſh. The river is here from two to three and a half miles wide. Its importance will conſiſt in its being the moſt convenient inlet from the upper parts of Virginia and the Carolinas to the Miſſiſſippi, it being navigable for boats of forty tons burthen from Holſton, the falls excepted, where carrying places will anſwer until

there are canals made, which can be done with very little expence.

Holſton is a narrow ſtrip of country, ſurrounded on every ſide by mountains; but there is a paſſage which winds through them, ſo as to admit of a paſſage this way, and down the river, without any difficulty of bad roads whatever. Should you continue your route by land in the road to Kentucky (which I ſhall deſcribe in another place), you would have ſeveral mountains to paſs, and at leaſt two hundred miles of bad road.

After you leave the plains which extend into the Cumberland country, in your courſe to the Tenaſee, the country is ſomewhat broken, but moſtly rich. Great part of the land lying between theſe rivers and the Ohio, and between Cumberland and Green rivers, was in military grants, made by Virginia to their officers and ſoldiers, and is eſteemed a valuable ſituation for its proximity to the junction of the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi. Their grants extend as low on the Miſſiſſippi as the partition line between Virginia and North Carolina: all of which is a beautiful

tiful country: and the banks of the river, which are very high, prevent it from overflowing, which is not the caſe a great way lower down.

The land in the Great Bend of the Tenaſee is very fine; but when you approach the country of the Chickaſaws, it becomes broken, light, and ſandy: and, as you extend to the ſouthward, I have been informed (I never travelled farther than this by land) the ſoil grows ſtill lighter; and, except a large body of good land on the Miſſiſſippi and the bottoms of the ſeveral ſtreams that run into the Gulf and the Miſſiſſippi, it is little better than Weſt Florida, which has been celebrated in Europe for its fertility; but ſo fine a country have I been endeavouring to deſcribe to you, that, judging by compariſon, the people in Kentucky and Cumberland look upon that as an indifferent ſoil.

This letter has imperceptibly grown to a conſiderable length. I was anxious to comprehend within this ſketch, all the country denominated the weſtern country on both ſides of the Ohio to the Miami, and then the whole of the Kentucky and Cumberland countries, and the country upon the

the Tenaſee, in order that I might proceed up the Ohio on the weſtern ſide, comprehending the whole of the country between that and the Miſſiſſippi, back to the Miami, and continuing northward to the Lakes: afterwards to ſhew the probable riſe and grandeur of the American empire, before I proceeded to an account of the artificial productions, &c. of Kentucky and Cumberland. Farewell.

Believe, my Friend,

I am yours ſincerely.

LETTER IV.

MY DEAR FRIEND, KENTUCKY.

IN contemplating the vaſt field of the American empire, what a ſtupendous ſubject does it afford for ſpeculation! Government, ethics, and commerce, acting upon principles different in many reſpects from thoſe of the old world, and entirely in others! A government which, with its ſpreading branches, ſeems in its mighty graſp to promiſe liberty and protection to one hemiſphere! A government which, from its ſimple conſtruction, and the unity and efficiency of its action, is not leſs remarkable in the political, than its natural hiſtory is to the phyſical world!

In ten years more, perhaps, a ſettlement will be formed ſufficiently populous to become a federal ſtate in the country into which I am now going to advance; the limits of which, from the confluence of the Miſſiſſippi and Ohio to Detroit, is between five and ſix hundred miles; and taking the medium diſtance between Pittſburg and

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the mouth of the Ohio, acroſs to the Miſſiſſippi from the Ohio is very little leſs. The inhabitants of this immenſe diſtrict do not, including French, amount to five thouſand. The country in this fork (if I may ſo call it) is various. Great part of it has been deſcribed by Charlevoix, Hutchins, and Carver. Charlevoix ſeems to have gone rapidly from Detroit by water the greateſt part of the way to New Orleans. Hutchins to have done nearly the ſame from Pittſburg, down the Ohio to the Miſſiſſippi, and up that river to the Illinois; ſo up that, and from thence to Detroit. He has given a tolerably good account of the Illinois country. Carver confined his travels and remarks to the lakes, the upper part of the Miſſiſſippi, particularly the river St. Pierre, and the north-weſtern branch of that river, and to the cuſtoms and manners of the Indian nations. Theſe authors have all conſiderable merit. They have written ſo agreeably, that their books have been generally read; which has tended to diſſeminate a knowledge of this country in a ſavage ſtate. This part of it is little better; but you muſt view it as a creation burſting from a chaos of hetero-

geneous matter, and exhibiting the ſhining tiſſue with which it abounds.

Immediately in the fork the land is flat, and liable to overflow ; but as you advance on either river the banks riſe, and the country expanding, diſplays a luxuriant ſoil for a long diſtance above the Wabaſh on the Ohio ſide, and quite to the Illinois on the Miſſiſſippi ſide, which is about two hundred and thirty miles above its junction with the Ohio, and twenty above the mouth of Miſſouri. This country lies nearly in the ſame parallel of latitude of Kentucky. From the mouth of the Wabaſh * the bottoms on the Ohio are extenſive and extremely fertile, as is the country from thence to Poſt St. Vincent; but towards the rapids of the Ohio, and beyond the bottoms of this river, the country is conſiderably broken, and the ſoil in ſome places light and indifferent. After leaving Poſt St. Vincent, in the route to the Illinois country, you ſoon fall into thoſe extenſive plains which have been deſcribed

* The Wabaſh is nearly 300 yards wide at its mouth, and except ſome inconſiderable rapids, it is navigable upwards of 400 miles.

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in ſuch glowing colours by Hutchins. This is certainly a beautiful country, and the immenſe number of deer, elk, and buffalo, which are ſeen grazing in thoſe natural meadows, renders even wildneſs enchanting. The air in this climate is pure, and the almoſt continual unclouded ſky ends not a little to charm the ſenſes, and to render even wildneſs delightful. The country between Poſt St. Vincent and Kaſkaſkies is flat and plain, with little variation. As you aſcend the Illinois river * the ſoil grows more fertile, and on either ſide you find immenſe foreſts.

I muſt now beg you will travel with Hutchins from hence to Detroit †. He will conduct you up the head branches of this river, and, after a ſhort paſſage, you will embark again on the waters of Lake Michigan, diſcovering how the operations

* The Illinois is a fine gentle river, and navigable to its ſource for batteaux. Its width is various—in places it is nearly half a mile: but its general breadth may be conſidered about 250 yards.

† The Illinois river furniſhes a communication with Lake Michigan by the Chiago river, and by two portages between the latter and the Illinois river; the longeſt of which is only four miles. HUTCHINS.

of this great country will be facilitated by the peculiar courſes of its immenſe and numerous rivers. His obſervations I have been told are conſiderably accurate, and, as I have not had the advantage of travelling this route, I recommend you to read his book, which was originally publiſhed in England, and no doubt is ſtill to be had.

Detroit lies between lat. 42° and 43° upon the Straights which communicate between Lake St. Clair and Lake Erie, conſiderably to the weſtward of Pittſburg. The country lying between them is not remarkable for any thing but being a wilderneſs. The ſoil and climate are ſuch as would entitle it to the reputation of a fine country in any part of Europe, except in winter, when the froſt is extremely ſevere, but leſs intenſe than that of Canada. Quebec lies nearly in the ſame latitude of Paris, and from the deſcription which the Emperor Julian has given of the winters he quartered there, during his command in Gaul, there ſeems to be little difference between the winters of France at that period, in reſpect to cold, and the preſent winters of Canada. Perhaps

haps the extent of continent lying to the north-weſt, and the immenſe lakes of freſh water which cover it, will not admit of the climate of that part of America being ſo rapidly meliorated as the climate of Europe has been by cultivation. However, it is certain, that as the country has been more opened in America, and thereby the rays of the ſun have acted more powerfully upon the earth, theſe benefits have tended greatly already to ſoften the winter ſeaſon: ſo that peopling Canada (for which we are much obliged to *you*) is a double advantage to *us*. Firſt, it is ſettling and populating a country, that muſt, ſooner or later, from the natural order of things, become part of our empire, and immediately meliorating the climate of the Northern States. But, to return to Detroit. Our courſe from thence to the head waters of the Miami is ſouth-weſterly. The country for ſome diſtance is flat, and the ſoil heavy and damp; but, upon the waters of thoſe rivers, it is beautiful, and abounds in the gifts of nature.

The communication between Lake Erie and the Ohio by water this way, will be up the

ſouthern branches of the lake, and by ſhort paſſages you arrive upon the waters of the great Miami, Sciota, and Muſkingum, which are navigable when flooded *. It muſt be obſerved, that the rivers I have been mentioning are not navigable, throughout the year, for boats of above ten or fifteen tons. Great part of the country between this and the Wabaſh is champaign; but in travelling towards the Rapids of

* Great Miami is about 300 yards wide at its mouth, is a rapid ſtream, but without cataracts, with ſeveral large branches navigable for batteaux a long way up: the principal of which interlocks with a branch of the Miami river, which runs into Lake Erie, to which there is a portage, and a third has a portage to Sanduſky.

Sciota is about 200 yards wide at its mouth, its current gentle, and is navigable for nearly two hundred miles to a portage of only five or ſix miles to Sanduſky.

Muſkingum is a fine gentle river, confined by high banks, which prevents its floods from overflowing the ſurrounding country. It is 250 yards wide at its confluence with the Ohio, and navigable, without any obſtructions, by large batteaux to a little lake at its head; from thence to Cayahoga, a creek that empties into Lake Erie, is not above two miles; and which muſt become the beſt portage between that lake and the Ohio.

Cayahoga at its mouth is wide and deep enough to receive large ſloops from the lake.

Sanducky is a conſiderable river that empties into Lake Erie; its ſtream is gentle, and large enough at its mouth to receive ſloops.

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the Ohio you paſs conſiderable plains, and then fall into a broken and hilly tract of poor land, that continues with little variation until you approach the Rapids, when all the variety and charms, which this river produces, preſent themſelves again. From Detroit to the Rapids is nearly four hundred miles.

I have gone curſorily over the weſtern country which is peopled, and about to be peopled: but have purpoſely avoided taking any notice of thoſe parts which are ſo little known, and of which I could ſay nothing but from the information of hunters and ſavages, which has been induſtriouſly collected and publiſhed by Carver, Jefferſon, and others. Beſides, as it is your wiſh only to be informed of the advantages of ſettlement, it would have been idle to have troubled you with accounts of countries that will not be ſettled, or at leaſt formed into States, in our time.

The rapid population of the weſtern country has not only aſtoniſhed America itſelf, but it muſt amaze Europe, when they enter into the views and increaſe of this growing empire. The firſt

ſettlement on the weſtern waters by the Engliſh was in 1760, and, under the influence of almoſt continual Indian wars, that ſettlement (I am now ſpeaking of the upper ſettlement on the Ohio) now contains not leſs than an hundred thouſand ſouls. The State of Kentucky did not make a permanent ſettlement before 1780, which now contains not leſs than an hundred thouſand. The Cumberland ſettlement began about this time, but it was at leaſt three years afterwards before there was ſecurity given to that ſettlement, and there are ſettled about fifty thouſand ſouls more. Beſides the ſettlement in the Great Bend of the Tenaſee, which will join them in their ſeparation from North Carolina, the ſettlement of Nola Chucka and French-broad, made on the branches of the Tenaſee in the year 1782, 1783, 1784, and 1785, contain between thirty and forty thouſand ſouls; ſeveral other ſettlements are forming at the Iron Banks on the Miſſiſſippi, beſides thoſe upon the weſtern ſide of the Ohio, which, including the inhabitants at Poſt St. Vincent and the Kaſkaſkies (I judge from the beſt information) do not fall ſhort of fifty thouſand.

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I have not mentioned the number in the ſettlement of the Great Bend of the Tenaſee, as I have not been able to collect any ſatisfactory information reſpecting them: but I ſuppoſe the aggregate number of ſouls in the weſtern country is very little, if at all, ſhort of four hundred thouſand, including the ſettlements of Holſton, Clinch River, and Powel's Valley, which taken together may amount to ſeventy thouſand ſouls, and which are properly on the weſtern waters.

The ſettlements on the weſtern ſide of the Ohio have been greatly haraſſed and retarded by the Indian war, which has continued with little variation ſince 1785; but the vigorous meaſures which their depredations have obliged Congreſs to adopt, muſt end with a permanent peace, or in a few years their provocations will lead to the extirpation of the whole of the Miami and Illinois tribes. Their proweſs and determined reſolution will, no doubt, conſiderably annoy our army, which, having been moſtly recruited from the Atlantic country, are not acquainted with ſuch dexterity and courage, or indeed habituated to their manner of fighting; but our numbers have

have grown too conſiderable; for, defeats only invigorate our meaſures, while the loſs of every man, to nations whoſe population is ſo extremely tardy as that of the ſavages of America, is a lamentable conſideration.

In the peopling this country new States will naturally ariſe, and thus, in contemplating the continent of America, we may form an adequate idea of what will be the magnitude of its federal empire. The upper ſettlement on the Ohio, though more populous than the ſettlement of Cumberland, is not likely to become a ſeparate State ſo ſoon. The greateſt part of it is within the limits of Pennſylvania, and not ſo remote from the capital of that State as the Cumberland ſettlement is from the capital of North Carolina. The intercourſe is continual, and the productions of the country, or at leaſt their cattle, may be driven to Philadelphia, &c. &c. as I have obſerved before; and their influence is not ſufficient to procure them an act of ſeparation, ſhould they deſire it. In the caſe of North Carolina and Cumberland there is little or no communication between them, nor is it to be expected that it ever

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can be the intereſt of either to continue the connection; therefore, it is moſt likely, that diſtrict will follow Kentucky in the links of the great federal chain.

I muſt now proceed upon conjecture, as there are no definite limits preſcribed by the federal government for the lines of demarkation, which are to be the different boundaries or limits of new States that will ariſe. However, it is eaſy, by conſulting natural boundaries, to form a pretty juſt idea where will be their different diviſions. I have already remarked that Kentucky and Cumberland are divided by a line in lat. 36½°, which will be the boundary of Cumberland to the northward. The mountains will moſt likely be its eaſtern limits: its ſouthern limits will be, either the partition line continued between North Carolina and Georgia (South Carolina never poſſeſſed any weſtern land), or it will run ſoutherly, until it ſtrikes that ridge of hills which divides the Tenaſee country from the country of the Chacktaws; thence a due weſt courſe to the Miſſiſſippi, or following ſome one of thoſe branches which riſe in thoſe hills, and purſuing its

its courſe to that river. This will comprehend a diſtrict of country of nearly two hundred miles in length from eaſt to weſt, and nearly an hundred and fifty from north to ſouth. I cannot ſpeak here with accuracy, as it is that part of all the weſtern country which is leaſt known.

The country upon the head waters of the Tenaſee ſtands next in the liſt of advancement. This country includes the ſettlement of Holſton, the ſettlement of Clinch, and the ſettlements of Powel's Valley, which are part in Virginia, and part in North Carolina; beſides the ſettlements of Nola Chucka and French-broad. This laſt ſettlement will be extended to the borders of the Cherokee country, which will bind this State to the ſouthward. Its weſtern boundary will be Cumberland Mountain, which will divide it from the States of Kentucky and Cumberland. Its northern limits will be the ridges of hills that divide the waters of the Tenaſee and the Great Kanaway, and its eaſtern boundary will be the high hills that divide the eaſtern from the weſtern waters in this part of America, which are called in Virginia the North Mountains, and which continue

tinue their courſe through the Carolinas. This State will be in extent upwards of two hundred miles from north to ſouth, and the average width from eaſt to weſt nearly an hundred and fifty.

This country has mountains on every ſide but the ſouth-weſt, and is interſperſed with high hills in moſt parts of it. The valleys are extremely fertile, and every where finely watered. The climate in the upper part of the country is not ſo temperate as that of Kentucky, though it lies in the ſame latitude, which is owing to the neighbouring mountains. Many parts of this diſtrict are well ſettled, and cultivation was brought to ſuch conſiderable perfection, that the inhabitants had it in contemplation to become independent ſeven years ſince, under the diſtinction of the State of Franklin, of which very probably you may have read. Its population is not only conſiderable, but its reſpectability in every conſideration will very ſoon intitle it to the rank of a diſtinct State; though it may require ſome time to effect a unity of ſentiments, and a conſolidation of its various and detached ſettlements into

into that order which the organs of government require.

Before I leave this ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, I muſt beg leave to digreſs, and ſhew what will be the probable deſtination of the Indian nations, who live between the ſouthern limits of the country I have been mentioning, and the Floridas, and which may amount to thirteen thouſand inclu-ſive of men, women, and children.

The Cherokees are about two thouſand five hundred; the Creeks three thouſand five hun-dred; the Chacktaws are about ſix thouſand; and the different vagrant nations may amount to a thouſand more.

The ſettlements making in the upper parts of Georgia, upon the fine lands of the Oconee and Okemulgee rivers, will in a very few years bid defiance to them in that quarter. The Georgian troops have already defeated them, and forced them to be quiet. The ſettlement of French-broad, aided by Holſton, have nothing to fear from them; and the Cumberland is too puiſſant to apprehend any danger. The Spaniards are

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in poſſeſſion of the Floridas (how long they will remain ſo muſt depend upon their moderation and good manners), and the ſettlements at the Natchez and above, which will ſoon extend to the ſouthern boundaries of Cumberland; ſo that they will be completely enveloped in a few years. Our people will continue to encroach upon them on three ſides, and compel them to live more domeſtic lives, and aſſimilate them to our mode of living, or croſs to the weſtern ſide of the Miſſiſſippi.

In the ſettlement of Long Iſland, in the State of New York, ſome of the tribes of Indians remained, and lived in continual intercourſe with the whites. Whether it was from any cruelty practiſed upon them, or from their predominant paſſion for ardent ſpirits, I will not pretend to ſay; but it is certain that very few of them remain, and they are a ſlothful, degenerate order of beings, compared with the aborigines of that country. In the ſettlement of South Carolina the Catawbas were allotted a tract of country, and though they have retained their courage, their numbers have greatly declined. The cauſe

of civilization proving repugnant to their population, I think, may be ſufficiently accounted for in the whites encouraging their thirſt for intoxication.

I will next take notice of the Genaſee country, which lies upon the waters that run into Lake Ontario, and which it is expected will be peopled as ſoon as the Six Nations of Indians are peaceable. This is a very rich and fertile tract of country, lying in the remote parts of New York, bounded by Pennſylvania to the ſouth-eaſt, by the lakes to the north-weſt, and high hills and a wilderneſs from the Ohio country. I have hitherto omitted taking notice of it, as not properly belonging to the weſtern country; but as I am going to proceed to partition the country weſt of the Ohio into ſeparate States, I thought it moſt conſiſtent to keep up the chain of connection; and without mentioning this diſtrict, there would have been a chaſm between New York and the uppermoſt State upon the waters of the Ohio.

Let us now return to the Ohio. That ridge of hills which divides the waters of this river from

from that of the lakes running ſouth-weſterly, until they run north-weſterly, and divide the ſources of the Wabaſh and Illinois rivers from the ſouthern branches of the lakes, will moſt likely mark the limits to the weſt of the Upper State upon the weſtern ſide of the Ohio. The ridge of hills, which divides the waters of the Allegany river from thoſe of the Genaſee, will bound it to the north; the Allegany river and the Ohio to the eaſt; and the Muſkingum to the ſouth. The next State I ſhould form between the Muſkingum and Sciota, the Ohio, and that ridge of hills between the ſources of theſe rivers and thoſe of Lake Erie. The third between the Sciota, the Great Miami, the Ohio, and the ſame ridge of hills. The country lying between the Miami, Wabaſh, the Ohio, and the ſame hills, I would put into another State; and the country lying between the Wabaſh, Ohio, Miſſiſſippi, and Illinois rivers, I would eſtabliſh into a fifth State.

Between the mouth of the Illinois river and waters of Lake Michegan, lies a diſtrict of country equally fertile with any part of the weſtern coun-

try; but, in the progreſſion of our ſettlements, it will be ſome years before any ſettlements can be formed there, except in the fork of the Miſſiſſippi and Illinois; which may be erected into a State, by running a line from a point lat. 42°. 30″ upon the Miſſiſſippi, in ſuch a direction as to ſtrike the head branches of the Illinois. But it is moſt likely that the country on the Miſſiſſippi and Miſouri will be ſettled before this diſtrict, though it is conſidered as the empire of Spain. However, I will not be ſo indecorous as to parcel out the territories of other nations: it is ſufficiently preſumptuous to have gone ſo far as I have.

I have now marked out the imaginary boundaries of ſix new States, excluſive of thoſe on the eaſtern ſide of the Ohio, the Genaſee ſettlement, and without including the country between the northern limits of Kentucky and Pittſburg, or the country between Niagara, Detroit, and the ſources of thoſe rivers which run into the Ohio.

The upper ſettlement on the eaſtern ſide of the Ohio will moſt likely follow the Cumberland and Holſton in its independence. In peopling the

the new States I conclude the lowermoſt will be firſt ſettled, and conſequently the firſt to be admitted into the federal government. The diſtrict of country that will be laſt ſettled, in all probability, between the Ohio, the lakes, and the Miſſiſſippi, to the ſouth of St. Anthony's Falls, is perhaps that which lies between Niagara and Detroit, and extending to the ridge of hills which divides the waters of lake Erie and Ohio, by reaſon of its damp and cold ſoil. The ſurrender of the forts of Niagara and Detroit (which I underſtand is about to be done), may increaſe the ſettlements upon the borders of Lake Erie; but I think it is not likely that unhoſpitable clime will find inhabitants, while the genial regions of the Miſſiſſippi are in a great meaſure uninhabited.

It is next neceſſary to take notice how, and in what probable time, theſe States will be inhabited. The firſt ſettlement upon the Ohio, and the progreſs made in agriculture, were extremely tardy. But it is neceſſary to recollect, that America was not only in an infant ſtate at the concluſion of the war in 1763, but that the continual wars with the Indians greatly retarded the pro-

greſs of that ſettlement; and if the ſame obſtructions have been given to the ſettlements on the weſtern ſide of the Ohio, it is equally certain that the exhauſted condition of the finances of the United States, until within a year and a half paſt, did not permit them to take thoſe vigorous meaſures neceſſary to their tranquillity; and that permanent ſettlements on that ſide of the river, and the increaſe of the neceſſaries of life (which are now in greater abundance in the weſtern country than in any other part of America), will enable them to ſupport their ſituation with infinitely more eaſe, than when we were obliged to bring almoſt every thing for uſe over the mountain.

I have eſtimated the number of ſouls on the weſtern waters at 400,000. I ſhould ſuppoſe, from the diſpoſition to early marriages, which is general, and the extraordinary fecundity it is obſerved every where prevails, with the addition of the emigrants who may be expected from the eaſtern States, that the inhabitants will double once in 15 years for the next 60 years to come, at leaſt,---which in the firſt 15 years will be equal to peopling

peopling four or five of theſe States; and I think we may expect to ſee at the end of 30 years the whole country I have been deſcribing inhabited.

The ratio of increaſe after the firſt 30 years appears almoſt too aſtoniſhing for belief: 6,400,000 ſouls increaſe in the courſe of 60 years, when it is notorious that all America added to her population little more than 2,000,000 in the courſe of a century, no doubt will appear a calculation too extravagant; for which reaſon it will be neceſſary for me to ſtate the riſe of the one, and the probable growth of the other.

Mr. Jefferſon, in his notes on Virginia (to which I ſhall have frequent occaſion to advert in my ſubſequent letters), allows a duplication only once in 27¼ years. He takes the ſpace of 118 years incluſive from 1654, until the year 1702, when the tythes of Virginia had increaſed from 7209 to 153,000; which eſtimate, he ſays, is corroborated by the particular uniformity of the intermediate enumerations taken in 1700, 1748, and 1759. According to this increaſe, he ſuppoſes the inhabitants of Virginia alone

will amount to between 6 and 7,000,000 within ninety-ſix years.

It appears, by a ſtatement which he has made of the emigrants in different years to that country, that the greateſt number in any one year was 3000, which was the year 1628. From the year 1654 the diſſolution of the Virginia Company took place, and importations almoſt ceaſed until it became the practice of your government to tranſport convicts to the colonies; ſo that it does not appear that the peopling of Virginia was materially owing to the migrations from Europe: whereas I have known upwards of 10,000 emigrants to arrive in the ſingle State of Kentucky within one year, and from 4 to 10,000 in ſeveral other years.

Great part of the country from the Bay of Fundy to Cape Florida upon the ſea coaſt is unfavourable to agriculture. New England has never yet produced corn ſufficient to ſupply its inhabitants with bread; which muſt proceed either from the ignorance of the arts of huſbandry in that country, or from the poverty of the ſoil: I believe

I believe both have helped to retard the progreſs of agriculture. Long Iſland is chiefly a ſand heap, where the inhabitants ſeem for a great length of time to have been content to live upon fiſh. The State of New York for a conſiderable diſtance back is a continuation of hills and ſtones. The country from Polouſhook to the capes of the Delaware is a flat of nothing but ſalt marſhes and pine barrans, which extend for twenty miles up the country; and the whole country from thoſe capes ſouthward to the Gulf of Florida is no better, for a conſiderable diſtance from the ſea, the bottoms of the rivers excepted; ſo that the firſt ſettlers of America had not only the natives to contend againſt, but alſo extreme poverty.

The extenſion of the Dutch ſettlement from New York up Hudſon's river to the fine lands about Albany, and to the fertile banks of the Rariton, in Jerſey, and the ſettlement of Pennſylvania by the celebrated Penn, firſt produced that plenty which is not only neceſſary to comfort, but is eſſential to occaſion that fecundity which diſtinguiſhes the rapid population of moſt

infant countries, after they have overcome the firſt difficulties of eſtabliſhing a ſettlement.

As the natives were driven back, the ſettlers began to penetrate into the fertile regions of the middle parts of the States, which lie at ſome diſtance from the ſea coaſt. But ſeveral cauſes now combined to retard the population of the country. The unfavourable appearance of the ſoil of New England induced moſt of its inhabitants to lead ſea-faring lives, which not only tend to check the natural increaſe of men by the loſſes incidental to ſuch an employment, but hinder, in a material degree, the propagation of the ſpecies by the ſeparation of the ſexes.

This buſineſs was in ſome meaſure common to the whole colonies. Beſides which, the wars that England was often engaged in againſt France and Spain, and in which we were alſo concerned, with the frequent Indian wars, and the late American war, helped not a little to obſtruct the natural proportion of the increaſe of inhabitants. America had only croſſed the line between poverty and affluence when the late unfortunate war

commenced,

commenced. However, there was a ſtill more nefarious and deteſtable cauſe for this ſlowneſs of population ariſing from the introduction of African ſlavery. Men began then to look upon it as infamous to labour—amuſements were invented to fill up their time—diſſipation followed in all the exceſs of idleneſs and folly. The fair ſex were neglected; marriages were leſs early, and leſs frequent. And thus it happened that the inhabitants of Virginia were found to double only once in 27¼ years, and which has been adopted by ſome perſons as a criterion to eſtimate the increaſe of the inhabitants of all the other States; but it is not a fair criterion, for it is notorious, that Pennſylvania is much better peopled than Virginia, though its firſt ſettlement was at a later date. But, now, for the reverſe. Though we enjoy an extenſive inland navigation, we are not liable to the ſame loſs of men which the perils of the ſea produce; nor any of that loſs which maritime countries ſuffer by their citizens entering into foreign ſervice, or ſettling in foreign countries: our voyages will be regulated by the periodical floods, and the æras of abſence will

be

be more determinate and certain; ſo that abſence here cannot ſo materially interrupt domeſtic happineſs, and cannot in the leaſt retard the increaſe of inhabitants. It is impoſſible that we can experience any thing like poverty, for no country, perhaps, upon the globe is ſo rich in the comforts and neceſſaries of life. As to wars, we can have none after a few years more are paſt. The Spaniards may put us to ſome inconvenience for a few years to come; but, in doing this, they will not only riſk the loſs of New Orleans, but the whole of Louiſiana, which they conſider as the key to Mexico. Thus ſecured from wars, and the inland navigation of the country not ſubjecting us to material loſſes in that buſineſs; with the propenſity to early marriages, produced by the ſimplicity and innocence of youth, tutored under the pure maxims of virtue and reaſon; it cannot be conſidered as a ſanguine calculation, when we add the additional conſideration of the probable number of emigrants we may receive, that our population will double once in fifteen years.

Having endeavoured to give you an idea of

the country north-weſt of the Ohio, omitted in my laſt, and what will be the probable partitions of the New States to be laid off on that ſide of the river, the population, and expected increaſe of the inhabitants of the weſtern country; I ſhall take leave of you for the preſent, and in my next you ſhall have an account of its productions, navigations, &c.

I remain, affectionately,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER V.

MY DEAR FRIEND, KENTUCKY.

IN the advancement of civilization, agriculture ſeems to have been in every country the primary object of mankind—Arts and ſciences have followed, and, ultimately, they have been relevant to each other. Fortunately for us the preſent æra of reaſon not only admits, but makes it neceſſary, that they ſhould go hand in hand. The decency of life is not the ſmalleſt of ſublunary blandiſhments. Purity is to the body what virtue is to the ſoul;—an eternal invigorating germ, whoſe bloſſoms diffuſe the moſt fragrant odours, and give a vivacity to the mind equally manly and delightful.

The weſtern limits of the federal empire are bounded on the north by the Lakes Ontario, Erie, St. Clair, Huron, Superior, and the Lake of the Wood*; to the weſt by the Miſſiſſippi; and

* Lake Ontario is about 600 miles in circumference, Lake Erie nearly 300, Lake St. Clair about 90, Lake Huron is reckoned 1000, and Lake Superior between 15 and 1600.

The

and extending as far ſouth as the Natchez, or lat. 32 deg. then is bound by the Floridas to the ſouth. What is called the Weſtern Territory lies on this ſide of the Allegany Mountain, within theſe limits *.

Here is found all the variety of ſoil and cli-

The Lake of the Wood from eaſt to weſt is about 70 miles, and its greateſt breadth about forty.

Lake Michigan is divided on the north-eaſt from Lake Huron by the Streights of Michillimacknac. Its greateſt length is 230 miles, its breadth about 60, and its circumference nearly 600.

On the north-weſt parts of this lake its waters branch out into two bays; that which lies towards the north is Noquet's Bay, and the other Puans, or Green Bay.

The waters of this, as well as the other great lakes, are clear, wholeſome, abound in fiſh, and are of ſufficient depth for the navigation of ſhips.

It is worth obſerving, that ſome of theſe lakes, in magnitude, are almoſt equal to the ſeas of Europe; and though there is not an immediate communication for ſhips with the Atlantic ocean, yet the advantages they muſt afford to the operations of commerce will prove not only very conſiderable, but, I conceive, will be nearly as beneficial as open ſeas, when the ſurrounding countries are under that ſame government, and influenced by reciprocal intereſt.

* Colonel Gorden, in his Journal, ſays, "that this country may, from a proper knowledge, be affirmed to be the moſt healthy, the moſt pleaſant, and moſt fertile ſpot of earth known to European people."

mate

mate neceſſary to the culture of every kind of grain, fibrous plants, cotton, fruits, vegetables, and all ſorts of proviſions. The upper ſettlements on the Ohio produce chiefly wheat, oats, barley, rye, Indian corn or maze, hemp and flax. The fruits are apples, pears, cherries, peaches, plums, ſtrawberries, raſberries, currants, gooſeberries, and grapes; of culinary plants and vegetables, there are turnips, potatoes, carrots, parſnips, cymbiline or ſquaſh, cucumbers, peaſe, beans, aſparagus, cabbages, brocoli, celery and ſallads; beſides which there are melons and herbs of every ſort. The proviſion conſiſts of beef, pork, mutton, veal, and a variety of poultry, ſuch as ducks, Muſcovy ducks, turkeys, geeſe, dunghill fowls, and pigeons. The ſuperfluous proviſions are ſold to the emigrants, who are continually paſſing through thoſe ſettlements, in their route to the different diſtricts of country, and which I have enumerated. Some conſiderable quantities of ſpirits diſtilled from rye, and likewiſe cyder, are ſent down the river to a market, in thoſe infant ſettlements where the inhabitants have not had time to bring orchards

chards to any perfection, or have not a ſuperfluity of grain to diſtil into ſpirits. The beef, pork, and flour are diſpoſed of in the ſame way. The flax and hemp are packed on horſes and ſent acroſs the mountain to the inland towns of Pennſylvania and Maryland, and (as I hinted in a former letter) in a few years, when grazing forms the principal object of thoſe ſettlers, they will always find a market for their cattle at Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Alexandria.

Theſe ſettlements might produce a conſiderable quantity of ſugar, but hitherto what they have made has ſerved for little more than home conſumption, as every part of the back country from lat. 42° to 36° and upon the Miſſiſſippi, as far north as lat. 45°. produces an abundance of the ſugar maple-tree as would be equal to furniſh ſugar for the inhabitants of the whole earth; and to ſend it to any of the market towns on the Atlantic is too far to be profitable, until the canals of the Potowmac ſhall have been finiſhed. That country produces alſo all the pot-herbs which are common in Europe: ſeveral kinds of nuts grow in the foreſts, ſuch as cheſnuts, hickory,

and

and black walnuts. Ths mountains, hills, and uninhabited parts abound in deer, wild turkeys, and a ſpecies of grouſe, called by the Americans promiſcuouſly partridge or pheaſant. There is an abundance of wild fowl, as indeed is the caſe in every part of the weſtern country: to enumerate theſe could prove for you neither amuſement or inſtruction.

Linen and woollen cloths, leather, and hats, for home conſumption, are manufactured with conſiderable ſucceſs. The two firſt articles are only made in families for their own uſe; but the latter are made by men of profeſſion in that buſineſs, and are of a quality that would not diſgrace the mechanics of Europe. Blackſmiths work of all ſorts, even to making fire arms, is done there; as is alſo cabinet work, wheel-wright, mill-wright, houſe carpentry, joinery, ſhoe-making, &c. &c. in ſhort, all the trades, immediately neceſſary to the promotion of the comforts of new ſettlements, are to be found here.

After paſſing to the ſouthward of lat. 40 deg. the climate becomes favourable to the culture of tobacco. It will, no doubt, grow farther to the

the north; but neither its flavour is ſo aromatic, or the crop ſo certain or productive. Indeed the farther ſouth tobacco grows, generally the finer its quality: hence it is, that the ſaegars of Cuba are ſo much admired for their peculiar ſcent, and the Oroonookoo for its mildneſs. However, this is of little conſequence to any country, as it is certain no cultivation is ſo pernicious to the ſoil, and of ſo little real advantage to the cultivator. It continually impoveriſhes the land; and every additional ſeaſon, inſtead of producing riches to an eſtate, tends to beggar it: every veſtige of its growth is miſery and devaſtation, and no ſoil, but one as prolific as that of the Nile, would be capable of producing it for any length of time, according to the ſyſtem which has been purſued in Virginia and Maryland. However, the whole of the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi country below lat. 40 deg. is perhaps better adapted to produce tobacco in quantity than any other country upon the face of the globe.

Kentucky produces, beſides tobacco, all the different kinds of grain that I have deſcribed in the upper ſettlement; all the fruits, with the addition of apricots and nectarines; theſe and

peaches grow here to very great perfection, particularly when planted upon a light ſoil, which ſhould always be the caſe when it can be found; but however extraordinary it may appear, it is not often the caſe in this diſtrict of country.

Thoſe culinary plants, vegetables, &c. I have enumerated above, are produced in the whole weſtern country. In ſome parts they grow to greater perfection than in others, as in this the cucumber, turnips, peas, and many others are much finer than I ever ſaw them any where beſide. The cantilope melon is only to be equalled by thoſe in Perſia. We are not at the trouble and expence of forcing. Every thing put into the ground of the vegetable kind grows in a moſt wonderful manner.

The ſoil is uncommonly favourable to hemp and Indian corn. I have known 12 cwt. of the former produced from an acre of ground, and as much as 100 buſhels of the latter. This has not only been done from an uncommon fertile ſpot, but there are large bodies of land adjoining, which are equally prolific. I believe that, were

were I to mention upon an average the produce of the whole country, it would be found to be nearly as follows;

Hemp per acre - -	800 cwt.
Indian corn, or maze, ditto -	60 buſhels.
Wheat, ditto - -	30 ditto.
Barley, ditto - -	40 ditto.
Oats, ditto - -	50 ditto.
Clover and timothy graſs, ditto	25 cwt.

Beſides hemp and flax for manufacturing, cotton is cultivated with conſiderable ſucceſs, particularly in the ſouthern parts of the State, and Cumberland; and, no doubt, in a few years, when our ſettlements extend to the Natchez, cotton will be produced in as great perfection as in the Eaſt or Weſt Indies. No ſoil or climate can be more congenial to this plant than the regions on the lowermoſt parts of the Miſſiſſippi. We have in our power to promote the culture of ſilk alſo. The mildneſs of the climate and the great quantity of the mulberry trees, which are every where interſperſed in our foreſts, render this matter extremely eaſy; but how far this will be politic, when the uſe of ſilk is going

out of faſhion, is a matter that requires ſome conſideration. Cotton has ſupplied its place, and its ſuperior excellence, I apprehend, will always make it a more profitable manufactory.

The growth of wool will form an important conſideration with us. The plains I have deſcribed extend quite to the mountains, ſo that ſheep here may have every advantage which the flocks of Spain enjoy. If we can form any idea from the ſamples of wool produced in many parts of the country, we may conclude that our moſt ſanguine expectations will be fully anſwered.

The buffalo are moſtly driven out of Kentucky. Some are ſtill found upon the head waters of Licking Creek, Great Sandy, and the head waters of Green River. Deer abound in the extenſive foreſts; but the elk confines itſelf moſtly to the hilly and uninhabited places.

The rapidity of the ſettlement has driven the wild turkey quite out of the middle countries; but they are found in large flocks in all our extenſive woods.

Amidſt the mountains and broken countries

are

are great numbers of the grouſe I have deſcribed; and ſince the ſettlement has been eſtabliſhed, the quail, by following the trail of grain which is neceſſarily ſcattered through the wilderneſs, has migrated from the old ſettlements on the other ſide the mountain, and has become a conſtant reſident with us. This bird was unknown here on the firſt peopling of the country.

There is a variety of wild fowl in every part of this State, particularly teal, and the ſummer duck. The latter breeds with us. Its incubation is always in temperate climates, which is the reaſon of its being called the ſummer duck.

The productions of Cumberland are nearly the ſame as thoſe of Kentucky. The quality of tobacco is perhaps ſomething better; but the climate being conſiderably warmer, it is not ſo favourable to wheat and barley, nor does graſs grow there ſo luxuriantly as with us.

The country below Cumberland ſoon becomes warm enough for indigo and rice; and perhaps theſe articles, in a few years, will be cultivated on the Miſſiſſippi with as much ſucceſs, if not more, than they ever were in South Carolina, or

Georgia; particularly the former, as the ſoil on the Miſſiſſippi is infinitely more luxuriant than any in the Carolinas. Some eſſays were made in this buſineſs previous to the late war; but the object was abandoned in the deſtruction of the ſettlement I mentioned in a former letter, made below the Natchez.

Oranges, and other tropical fruits, grow at the Natchez, and ſome diſtance above, to conſiderable perfection. There are a variety of nuts that grow both in Kentucky and Cumberland, ſome of which are common to both: the moſt remarkable of them is the Pacane; all of which have been noticed both by Carver and Jefferſon. Grapes, plums, gooſberries, and ſtrawberries, grow alſo ſpontaneouſly in the ſouthern parts of Kentucky, and in moſt parts of Cumberland.

The produce of the weſtern country will be nearly the ſame in the ſame parallels of latitude throughout; ſo that comparing my imaginary States with the ſettled country ſouth-eaſt of the Ohio, you will be able to form a juſt idea of what they will be capable of producing. But to comprehend the object of the commerce of this

this country, it is firſt neceſſary to contemplate it, abounding in all the comforts of life, limited in its variety of climate only by what is not deſirable; with a ſoil ſo prolific, a navigation ſo extenſive, and a ſecurity ſo permanent, from being inland, that it ſeems this vaſt extent of empire is only to be equalled for its ſublimity but by the object of its aggrandizement.

Proviſions, tobacco, and raw materials will conſtitute the firſt articles of our trade *. Such

* The following juſt and judicious obſervations were addreſſed to the Earl of Hillſborough, in the year 1770, when Secretary of State for the North American Department:

"No part of North America will require leſs encouragement for the production of naval ſtores, and raw materials for manufactories in Europe, and for ſupplying the Weſt India Iſlands with *lumber*, *proviſions*, &c. than the country of the Ohio; and for the following reaſons:

Firſt, The lands are excellent, the climate temperate, the native grapes, ſilk worms, and mulberry trees, abound every where; hemp, hops, and rye grow ſpontaneouſly in the valleys and low lands; lead and iron are plenty in the hills; ſalt ſprings are innumerable; and no ſoil is better adapted to the culture of tobacco, flax, and cotton, than that of the Ohio.

Second, The country is well watered by ſeveral navigable rivers, communicating with each other; by which, and a ſhort land carriage, the produce of the lands of the Ohio can, even now (in the year 1772), be ſent cheaper to the ſea-port town of

Such a quantity of beef, pork, bacon, butter, cheeſe, &c. &c. might be furniſhed from this country

Alexandria, on the Potomac river in Virginia (where the troops of General Braddock landed), than any kind of merchandiſe is ſent from Northampton to London.

Third, The river Ohio is, at all ſeaſons of the year, navigable with large boats, like the weſt country barges, rowed only by four or five men; and from the month of February to April large ſhips may be built on the Ohio, and ſent to ſea, laden with hemp, iron, flax, ſilk, tobacco, cotton, pot-aſh, &c.

Fourth, Flour, corn, beef, ſhip-plank, and other uſeful articles can be ſent down the ſtream of the Ohio to Weſt Florida, and from thence to the Weſt India iſlands, much cheaper, and in better order, than from New York or Philadelphia, to thoſe iſlands.

Fifth, Hemp, tobacco, iron, and ſuch bulky articles, may alſo be ſent down the ſtream of the Ohio to the ſea, at leaſt 50 per cent. cheaper than theſe articles were ever carried by land carriage, of only 60 miles, in Pennſylvania; where waggonage is cheaper than in any other part of North America.

Sixth, The expence of tranſporting European manufactories from the ſea to the Ohio, will not be ſo much as is now paid, and muſt ever be paid, to a great part of the countries of Pennſylvania, Virginia, and Maryland. Whenever the farmers or merchants of the Ohio ſhall properly underſtand the buſineſs of tranſportation, they will build ſchooners, ſloops, &c. on the Ohio, ſuitable for the Weſt India or European markets; or, by having black walnut, cherry tree, oak, &c. properly ſawed for foreign markets, and formed into rafts in the manner that is now done by the ſettlers near the upper parts of the Delaware in Pennſylvania, and thereon ſtow their hemp, iron, tobacco, &c. and proceed with them to New Orleans.

country as will one day, no doubt, furniſh the Weſt India iſlands, and afford relief to the miſerable Chineſe, whoſe ſcanty portion of rice is

It may not, perhaps, be amiſs to obſerve, that large quantities of flour are made in the diſtant (weſtern) countries of Pennſylvania, and ſent by an expenſive land-carriage to the city of Philadelphia, and from thence ſhipped to South Carolina, and to Eaſt and Weſt Florida, there being little or no wheat raiſed in thoſe provinces.

The river Ohio ſeems kindly deſigned by nature, as the channel through which the two Floridas may be ſupplied with flour; not only for their common conſumption, but alſo for the carrying on an extenſive commerce with Jamaica, and the Spaniſh ſettlements in the Bay of Mexico. Millſtones in abundance are to be obtained in the hills near the Ohio; and the country is every where well watered with large and conſtant ſprings and ſtreams for griſt and other mills.

The paſſage from Philadelphia to Pennſacola is ſeldom made in leſs than a month, and ſixty ſhillings per ton, freight (conſiſting of ſixteen barrels), is uſually paid for flour, &c. thither. Boats carrying 800 or 1000 barrels of flour may go in about the ſame time from Pittſburg, as from Philadelphia to Pennſacola, and for half the above freight; the Ohio merchants would be able to deliver flour, &c. there in much better order than from Philadelphia, and without incurring the damage and delay of the ſea, and charges of inſurance, &c. as from thence to Pennſacola.

This is not mere ſpeculation; for it is a fact, that about the year 1746, there was a great ſcarcity of proviſions at New Orleans; and the French ſettlements at the Illinois, ſmall as they then were, ſent thither in one winter upwards of eight hundred thouſand weight of flour."

only

only ſufficient to keep ſoul and body together. Our mountainous countries muſt always prove excellent ranges for herds of cattle; the graſs, in the ſummer, affording ſufficient food to fatten them, without the expence of cultivated meadows, and the winters are ſeldom ſo ſevere as to require any other food than the cane and pea-vine.

The navigation of this country has been much talked of. The diſtance from one place to another has been computed with ſome degree of accuracy, and the various experiments which have been made confirm the opinion that its difficulty is merely imaginary.

The common mode of deſcending the ſtream is in flat-bottomed boats, which may be built from 15 to 500 tons burthen. But, as far as I have been able to judge, I ſhould ſuppoſe, that about 50 or 60 tons burthen would be the moſt convenient, wieldy, and conſequently ſafe, particularly when the waters are very high; for in ſuch caſes the rapidity of the current makes it difficult to manage an unwieldy maſs with facility. Theſe boats are built of oak plank, with a certain proportion

portion of breadth to their length, i. e. nearly as 12 feet to 40; which will be a boat of nearly 40 tons. They are covered or not as occaſion may require. The object is to build them as cheap as poſſible, for their unwieldineſs prevents the poſſibility of their returning, and they can only be ſold as plank.

Several of theſe boats ſetting out together, let us ſuppoſe 5, 10, 15, or 20, of 60 tons burthen each, which would require each 6 hands to navigate them; ten boats then of 60 tons each will employ 60 hands, which will be equal to navigate up the ſtream 3 boats of 5 tons each, and would be more than ſufficient to bring back the cargo that the produce of the ten boats would purchaſe; as the articles we export are groſs and bulky, while we want only in return ſuperfine goods: the coarſer goods of every ſort will always be manufactured in the country. We alſo make our own ſalt, ſugar, ſpirits, malt liquor, and ſhall ſoon make our own wine. Theſe boats muſt be worked up with ſteam and ſails.

The invention of carrying a boat againſt the ſtream by the influence of ſteam, is a late improvement

provement in philoſophy by a Mr. Rumſey of Virginia, whoſe ingenuity has been rewarded by that State with the excluſive privilege of navigating thoſe boats in her rivers for 10 years; and as this grant was given previous to the independence of Kentucky, the act of ſeparation guarantees his right. Some circumſtance or other has prevented his bringing them into uſe. However, there can be no doubt of the ſucceſs of his ſcheme, for the Aſſembly of Virginia had the moſt unequivocal aſſurances before they gave the privilege, in a certificate ſigned by General Waſhington and Man Page, Eſquire; ſetting forth, that they had ſeen a boat, they believed to be conſtructed by Mr. Rumſey, aſcend a ſtream without the aid of manual labour, but without mentioning the operating cauſe, which has ſince appeared to be ſteam. If this principle ſhould fail (and from ſuch authority I do not conceive how it is to be preſumed), I flatter myſelf that philoſophy is capable of ſupplying the place in the appropriation of ſome one of the ſecrets with which mechanics abound.

In taking a retroſpective view of the world, we

we are for a moment ſurpriſed when we recollect that ſome thouſands of years had elapſed before printing was invented; and that the only way of accumulating the copies of art and genius was by the tardy method of tranſcribing; and that the art of navigation was for nearly as long a time devious, and regulated by no certain laws, the ſtars and head lands of different countries being the only guides to the adventurous mariner, who often periſhed when the heavens were obſcured. O Liberty! how many bleſſings haſt thou brought us! Man, in promulgating his opinions, now finds ſecurity under the wings of an eſtabliſhed freedom; and the diſmal dungeon, which eclipſed the luminous mind of the celebrated Italian, would now be erected into a ſchool for him to lecture in, inſtead of a priſon to bewail the miſerable ignorance and depravity of his fellow-creatures. Truth and reaſon have led to this melioration of manners---it will lead to more benefits to mankind.---But ſhould we ſtill be obliged to row our boats againſt the ſtream, it is not only practicable, but eaſy.

The frequent turnings in the Miſſiſſippi pro-

duce in every bend eddy water; which, with the advantage the wind affords, that blowing the greater part of the year from the ſouth-weſt, and directly up the windings of the river, by reaſon of the vacancy between the banks and riſing fóreſts on either ſide, afford a channel for the current of the air, is ſufficient with ſails, keeping as much as poſſible in the eddy water, to carry a boat 50 miles a day up the ſtream.

To account for thoſe winds philoſophically would be extremely eaſy; but, as it is a circumſtance notorious from the teſtimony of voyagers in the Miſſiſſippi and Ohio, I preſume the teſt of experience will be preferred to any philoſophical diſquiſition upon the ſubject.

Should this navigation prove too tedious, and no improvements appear likely to be made in it, the importing into the country may be facilitated by another channel, from the Gulf of Mexico up the Mobile, which is a lazy current; from the principal branch of which there is but a ſhort paſſage to a branch of the Tenaſee, when you will have the advantage of the ſtream quite into the Ohio. I have enumerated this circumſtance merely

merely for the ſake of information; for I have not the ſmalleſt doubt of the eligibility of the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, which is proved from the experiments which are daily making.

The diſtance from Pittſburg to the Muſkingum is 173 miles; to the Little Kenhaway 178; to the Great Kenhaway 285; to Great Sandy 342; to the Sciota 390; to Limeſtone 500; to the Little Miami 510; to Licking Creek 524; to the Great Miami 550; to the Great-bone Creek 582; to the Kentucky 626; to the Rapids 703; to Salt river 723; to Green river 922; to the Wabaſh 1019; to Cumberland river 1113; to the Tenaſee 1126; to the Miſſiſſippi 1183; from thence to New Orleans is about 1005.

I have mentioned that it is about 230 from the mouth of the Ohio up the Miſſiſſippi to the mouth of the Miſouri, and about 20 from thence to Illinois, which is navigable for batteaux to its ſource. From thence there is a portage only of 2 miles to Chickago, which is alſo navigable for batteaux to its entrance into Lake Michegan, which is a diſtance of 16 miles. This lake affords communication with the river St. Lawrence through

through Lake Erie, paſſing Niagara by a portage of 8 miles. The Lakes Erie and Michegan are navigable for veſſels drawing 6 and 7 feet water. This is one of the routes by which the exchange of commodities between the northern and ſouthern parts of this empire will be facilitated.

In continuing the plan of intercourſe, it will be found extremely eaſy to paſs through Lake Ontario to Wood creek; up Wood creek, and by a portage of about 3 miles, you arrive at a creek, which in 3 miles more brings you to Fort Edward upon the Mohawk river, a branch of Hudſon's river. There are ſeveral carrying-places between that and its junction with Hudſon; but very little labour would remove them, and which I have no doubt but the State of New York* will be judicious enough to ſet early about. It is certain they have ordered ſurveys to be made, and plans are forming for the removal of thoſe obſtructions. It has been long in

* That State paſſed an Act of Aſſembly in July 1792, for removing all the obſtructions between Hudſon's river and Lake Ontario; by which means, when it is done, there will be an inland navigation, taking its various courſes of nearly 2000 miles in extent.

embryo

A Mouth of the Ohio.

								Pittſburg
							Big Beaver	28
						Little Beaver	12	40
					Yellow Creek	12	24	52
				Two Creeks	20	32	44	72
			Long Reach	52	72	34	96	124
		End of Long Reach	16	68	88	100	112	140
		Muſkingum	33	49	101	121	133	145	173
	away	57	38	54	106	126	138	150	178
	15	20	53	69	121	141	153	165	193
	07	112	145	161	213	233	252	257	285
	64	169	202	218	270	290	309	314	342
	12	217	250	266	318	338	357	362	390
	322	227	360	376	428	448	467	472	500
	332	337	370	386	438	458	477	482	510
	346	351	384	400	452	472	491	496	524
	372	377	410	426	478	498	517	522	550
	404	409	442	458	510	530	549	554	582
	448	453	486	502	554	574	593	598	626
	525	530	563	579	631	651	670	675	703
	45	550	583	599	651	671	690	695	723
	744	749	782	793	850	870	889	894	922
	841	846	897	896	947	967	986	991	1019
Cumberland R	935	940	973	990	1041	1061	1080	1085	1113
Tenaſee 13	948	953	986	1003	1054	1074	1093	1098	1126
iſſiſſippi 57	7	005	1010	1043	1060	1111	1131	1150	1155	1183

through Lake Erie, paſſing Niagara by a portage of 8 miles. The Lakes Erie and Michegan are navigable for veſſels drawing 6 and 7 feet water. This is one of the routes by which the exchange of commodities between the northern and ſouthern parts of this empire will be facilitated.

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embryo

A TABLE OF DISTANCES between PITTSBURG and the Mouth of the OHIO.

Pittſburg																				
Big Beaver	28																			
Little Beaver	12	40																		
Yellow Creek	12	24	52																	
Two Creeks	20	32	44	72																
Long Reach	52	72	34	96	124															
End of Long Reach	16	68	88	100	112	140														
Muſkingum	33	49	101	121	133	145	173													
Little Kenhaway	57	38	54	106	126	138	150	178												
Hockhocking	15	20	53	69	121	141	153	165	193											
Great Kenhaway	92	107	112	145	161	213	233	252	257	285										
Great Sandy	57	149	164	169	202	218	270	290	309	314	342									
Sciota	48	105	197	212	217	250	266	318	338	357	362	390								
Limeſtone	110	158	215	307	322	227	360	376	428	448	467	472	500							
Little Miami	10	120	168	225	317	332	337	370	386	438	458	477	482	510						
Licking Creek	14	24	134	132	239	331	346	351	384	400	452	472	491	496	524					
Great Miami	26	40	50	160	208	265	357	372	377	410	426	478	498	517	522	550				
Great Bone Creek	32	58	72	82	192	240	297	389	404	409	442	458	510	530	549	554	582			
Kentucky	44	76	102	116	126	236	284	341	433	448	453	486	502	554	574	593	598	626		
Rapids	77	121	153	179	193	203	313	361	413	510	525	530	563	579	631	651	670	675	703	
Salt River	20	97	141	173	199	213	223	333	381	438	530	545	550	583	599	651	671	690	695	723
Green River	199	319	298	340	372	398	412	422	532	580	637	729	744	749	782	793	850	870	889	894	922
Wabaſh	97	296	416	393	437	469	495	509	519	629	677	734	826	841	846	897	896	947	967	986	991	1019
Cumberland River	94	191	390	510	487	531	563	589	603	613	723	761	828	920	935	940	973	990	1041	1061	1080	1085	1115
Tenaſee	13	107	204	403	523	501	544	576	602	616	646	736	774	841	933	948	953	986	1003	1054	1074	1093	1098	1126
Miſſiſippi	57	70	164	261	460	580	558	601	633	659	673	703	793	831	898	990	1005	1010	1043	1060	1111	1131	1150	1155	1183

embryo with them. It was impoſſible a plan of ſo much utility could eſcape that ſage and penetrating politician General Schuyler, whoſe vaſt eſtate lies moſtly in that part of America.

There are alſo portages into the waters of lake Erie from the Wabaſh, Great Miami, Muſkingum, and Allegany, from 2 to 16 miles *. The portage between the Ohio and Potowmac will be about 20 miles when the obſtructions in the Monongahala and Cheat rivers are removed, which will form the firſt object of the gentlemen of Virginia when they have completed the canal on the Potowmac.

The obſtructions to the navigation of the Great Kanhaway are of ſuch magnitude, that it will require a work of ages to remove them; but if ever that ſhould be done, there will be an eaſy communication between that and James river, and likewiſe with the Roanoke, which runs through North Carolina. But this is an event too remote to deſerve any conſideration at preſent.

* Some of theſe have been noticed in a note in a preceding part of this work.

All the rivers in this country of 60 yards wide and upwards, are navigable almoſt to their ſources for flat-bottomed boats during their floods, and for batteaux the greater part of the year, the Great Kanhaway and little Miami excepted. The Tenaſee has a conſiderable fall where it paſſes through Cumberland Mountain, where there muſt be a portage alſo. From thence it is navigable quite to Holſton.

The rapids of the Ohio I have deſcribed in a former letter *. They are no obſtruction in high water to boats going down the river, and indeed batteaux may paſs almoſt at any time. There

* Colonel Gordon, in his journal down the Ohio mentions, "That thoſe falls do not deſerve that name, as the ſtream on the north ſide has no ſudden pitch, but only runs over a ledge of rocks. Several boats, he ſays, paſſed them in the dryeſt ſeaſon of the year, unloading one half of their freight. They paſſed on the north ſide, where the carrying place is three quarters of a mile long; on the ſouth-eaſt ſide, it is about half that diſtance, and is reckoned the ſafeſt paſſage for thoſe who are unacquainted with it; but it is the moſt tedious, as, during part of the ſummer, and autumn, the batteaux-men drag their boats over the rock. The fall is about half a mile rapid water, which, however, is paſſable, by wading and dragging the boat againſt the ſtream when loweſt, and with ſtill greater eaſe when the water is raiſed a little."

are

are two ſmall rapids in the Wabaſh between its mouth and St. Vincent's, but they are no impediment to navigation, except at times of low water. The Kaſkaſkia is a ſmall river which runs into the Miſſiſſippi below the Illinois, and is navigable a conſiderable way above the plains. The Miſſiſſippi is navigable to St. Anthony's Falls, without any obſtruction. Carver deſcribes it as navigable above them as far as he travelled. We have too little knowledge of the Miſouri to from any decided opinion of the extent of its navigation. It is however certain, that it is a more powerful ſtream than the Miſſiſſippi, and in entering that river, it triumphantly ruſhes acroſs, and its turbid waters, unmixed, ſeem to diſdain a connection ſo inferior. From the beſt information that we have been able to collect, it is navigable for 12 or 1500 miles above its mouth, without obſtruction; and I think it is not unlikely that in ſettling the country towards its ſource, we ſhall find it is not remote from the ſources of the ſtreams running into the Pacific Ocean, and that a communication may be opened between them with as much eaſe as between the Ohio

and Potowmac, and alſo between the ſettlements on the Miſſiſſippi and California. This circumſtance is the more likely to happen, as it does not appear that the ridges of hills which divide the waters of the Pacific Ocean from the waters of the Miſſiſſippi, are either ſo high or ſo rugged as the Allegany mountains.

You will obſerve, that as far as this immenſe continent is known, the courſes and extent of its rivers are extremely favourable to communication by water; a circumſtance which is highly important, whether we regard it in a ſocial or commercial point of view. The intercourſe of men has added no inconſiderable luſtre to the poliſh of manners, and, perhaps, commerce has tended more to civilize and embelliſh the human mind, in two centuries, than war and chivalry would have done in five.

The federal government regulating every thing commercial, muſt be productive of the greateſt harmony, ſo that while we are likely to live in the regions of perpetual peace, our felicity will receive a zeſt from the activity and variety of our trade. We ſhall paſs through the Miſſiſſippi to the

the ſea—up the Ohio, Monongahala and Cheat rivers, by a ſmall portage, into the Potowmac, which will bring us to the federal city on the line of Virginia and Maryland—through the ſeveral rivers I have mentioned, and the lakes to New York and Quebec—from the northern lakes to the head branches of the rivers which run into Hudſon's-bay into the Arctic regions—and from the ſources of the Miſouri into the Great South Sea *. Thus in the centre of the earth, governing by the laws of reaſon and humanity, we ſeem calculated to become at once the emporium and protectors of the world †.

Before

* Beſides the ſeveral channels of communication already mentioned, there are two others which, in a very few years, will be opened; as the Pennſylvanians have already turned their attention toward them.

One from Lake Erie to a place called Le Boeuf, down the Allegany, to a river called Kiſkiſminitas, then up the ſame a certain diſtance, and from thence by a ſhort portage to a branch of the Suſquehanna, called Juniata. The other is from Lake Ontario to the eaſt branch of the Delaware, which it is ſaid will not be attended with much difficulty; and which will be a direct communication between Philadelphia and that Lake.

There is a ridge of hills, generally called the Shining Mountains, which begin at Mexico, and continue to the eaſt

Before I finiſh this letter, I ſhall juſt enter into ſome of the minutiæ of the diſtance and time

of California, that ſeparate the water of thoſe rivers which fall either into the gulf of that peninſula, or the Gulf of Mexico. From thence, as they continue their courſe northward, between the waters of the Miſſiſſippi, and the rivers that empty themſelves into the Pacific Ocean, and end in about lat. 48 or 49, where ſeveral rivers have their ſources, which either run into Hudſon's Bay, or the South Sea.

Theſe hills lying nearly parrallel with the Allegany Mountains, a conſiderable diſtance from the Pacific Sea, forms, if it may be ſo called, a great valley, which conſtitutes what is called the Weſtern Country of America, and is nearly in the centre of this vaſt continent.

In reflecting upon the object of the federal government, and the rapid ſtrides it is making, it appears rather puerile in the United States thinking to make the ſeat of their government permanent upon the Powtomac; or at leaſt it would be ſo, to run the country to heavy expences, when it is obvious that poſterity will, in the courſe of a century at fartheſt, remove it to the Miſſiſſippi, which is the moſt central, and conſequently the proper place. By that means the efficiency of the federal government will act like the vital fluid which is propelled from the heart, and give motion and energy to every extremity of the empire.

The country between Cape Florida and Cape North, the ſouthern head-land of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, lies between lat. 25 and 48, and weſt long. 82 and 66; and the country between Catifornia and Nootka Sound, between lat. 30 and 47, and weſt long. 118 and 128, which is a diſtance between 15 and 1600 miles from north to ſouth, and between 2500 and 3000 from eaſt to weſt; ſo that if we take the medium, and

make

time of deſcending down the Ohio, which will ſerve for an account of all the other rivers. Mr. Jefferſon

make an allowance for the probable extenſion of the United States both to the northward and ſouthward, it appears pretty clearly, that a ſpot upon the Miſſiſſippi, nearly lat. 44, I think upon Lake Pepin, or at St. Anthony's falls, ought to be placed the permanent ſeat of the federal government.

From a point lat. 44, upon the Atlantic coaſt, and running from thence a due weſt line, until it ſtrikes the Miſſiſſippi, is a diſtance of nearly 1200 miles, and from thence to the Pacific coaſt, continuing the ſame line, it is ſomething more; but the difference is immaterial, while the communications from thence would be facilitated to every part of the empire, by the peculiar advantages of the various navigable rivers that have their ſources in the ſame neighbourhood. Carver has deſcribed them as follows:

"The four moſt capital rivers in America, *i. e.* the St. Lawrence, the Miſſiſſippi, the River Bourbon, or Red River, and the Oragon, have their ſources in the ſame neighbourhood. The waters of the three former are within thirty miles of each other; the latter is farther weſt.

"This ſhews that theſe parts are the higheſt land in North America; and it is an inſtance not to be parralleled on the other three quarters of the globe, that four rivers of ſuch magnitude ſhould take their riſe together; and each, after runing ſeveral courſes, diſcharge their waters into different oceans, at the diſtance of 2000 miles from their ſources. For in their paſſage from this ſpot, to the Bay of St. Lawrence eaſt, to the Bay of Mexico ſouth, to Hudſon's Bay north, and to the Bay of the Streights of Annian weſt, each of theſe traverſe upwards of 2000 miles."

Beſides, the ſame author has deſcribed thoſe places, and the

Jefferſon has ſtated, that " the inundations of the Ohio begin about the laſt of March, and ſubſide

truth of which is ſupported by the teſtimony of other travellers with whom I have converſed, as one of the moſt beautiful countries upon the earth. Theſe are his words:

" The Miſſiſſippi below Lake Pepin, flows with a gentle current, but the breadth is very uncertain, in ſome places it being upwards of a mile, in others not more than a quarter.

" This river has a range of mountains throughout the whole way, which in particular places approach near to it, in others lie at a greater diſtance.

" The land between the mountains on either ſide, is generally covered with graſs, with a few groves of trees interſperſed, near which large droves of deer and elk are frequently ſeen feeding.

" In many places, pyramids of rocks appeared, reſembling old ruinous towers; at others, amazing precipices:—and what is very remarkable, whilſt this ſcene preſented itſelf on one ſide, the oppoſite ſide of the ſame mountain was covered with the fineſt herbage, which gradually aſcended to its ſummit. From thence the moſt beautiful proſpect that the imagination can form opens to your view.

" Verdant plains, fruitful meadows, numerous iſlands, and all abounding with a variety of trees that yeild amazing quantities of fruit without care or cultivation: ſuch as the nut tree, the maple, which produces ſugar, vines loaded with delicious grapes, and plumb trees bending under their blooming burdens;—but above all, the winding river flowing gently beneath, and reaching as far as the eye can extend, by turns attract your admiration, and exite your wonder. The lake is about 20 miles long, and nearly 6 in breadth.

" The Miſſiſſippi, as far as the entrance of the river St. Croix, about forty miles above Lake Pepin, is very full of iſlands; ſome

of

ſubſide in July. He has written his notes on Virginia like a man of erudition, and conſider-

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of which are of a conſiderable length. On theſe alſo grow great numbers of the ſugar tree, and around them vines loaded with grapes creeping to their very tops. From the lake a few ſmall mountains are to be ſeen.

" The river St. Pierre flows through a moſt delightful country, abounding with all the neceſſaries of life, which grow ſpontaneouſly; and with a little cultivation it might be made to produce its luxuries.

" Wild rice grows here in great abundance, and every part is filled with trees bending under their loads of fruit; ſuch as plumbs, grapes, and apples—The meadows are covered with hops and many ſorts of vegetables; while the ground is ſtored with uſeful roots;—with angelica, ſpikenard, and ground nuts as large as hens eggs.

" A little diſtance from the river are eminences from which you have views that cannot be exceeded for their variety and beauty;—amidſt theſe are delightful groves, and ſuch amazing quantities of the ſugar tree, that they would produce ſugar ſufficient for any number of inhabitants.

" A little way from the mouth of this river, on the north ſide of it, ſtands a hill, one part of which, that toward the Miſſiſſippi, is compoſed intirely of white ſtone of a ſoft nature. But what appears remarkable, is, that the colour of it is as white as the driven ſnow. The outward part of it was crumbled by the wind and weather into heaps of ſand, of which a beautiful compoſition might be made; or, I am of opinion, that when properly treated, the ſtone itſelf would grow harder by time, and have a very noble effect in architecture.

" Near that branch which is termed the Marble River, is a mountain, from whence the Indians get a ſort of whetſtone,

out

ing that he never was in this country, he has given ſuch an account of it as cannot be diſpleaſing

out of which they hew the bowls of their pipes. This country likewiſe abounds with a milk-white clay, of which china-ware might be made, equal in goodneſs to the Aſiatic.

" At the falls of St. Anthony the Miſſiſſippi is above 250 yards wide, and forms a moſt delightful cataract. The fall is thirty feet perpendicular, and the rapids below is about 300 yards more, render the deſcent conſiderably greater; ſo that when viewed at a diſtance they appear to be much higher than they really are.

" The country round is extremely beautiful—It is not an uninterrupted plain, where the eye finds no relief; but it is compoſed of many gentle aſcents, which are covered with the fineſt verdure, and interſperſed with little groves, that give a pleaſing variety to the proſpect.

" On the whole, when the falls are included, which may be ſeen at the diſtance of four miles, a more pleaſing and pictureſque view cannot, I believe, be found throughout the univerſe

" The country, about 60 miles above the falls, to the river St. Francis, is in ſome places hilly, but without mountains; and the land is tolerably good. A little above this, to the north-eaſt, are a number of ſmall lakes, called the Thouſand Lakes;—the country about which, though but little frequented, is the beſt within many miles for hunting, as the hunter never fails returning loaded beyond his expectations The Miſſiſſippi here begins to grow ſmall, it being not above 90 yards wide."

Other travellers agree with Carver, alſo, in ſaying that there is a conſiderable proportion of good land upon Lake Superior and upon Red River—They deſcribe the country about Lake Winnepeck, which lies to the north-weſt of Lake Superior, as very fertile; it producing vaſt quantities of rice, which grows ſponta-

pleaſing to an European. But, as in every thing which has characterized his political life, his judgment

ſpontaneouſly; and ſay, that the ſugar tree grows in great plenty; which, if true, not only proves the ſoil muſt be very fruitful, as they never grow in indifferent land; but that the climate muſt be conſiderably more temperate here than it is upon the Atlantic coaſt 10 degrees farther ſouthward; for I never heard of a ſugar tree being ſeen on the eaſtern coaſt of America as far north as lat. 43°. This opinion is confirmed by the following remarks made by Carver.

"I can from my own knowledge affirm, that I found the winter I paſt to the weſtward of the Miſſiſſippi far from ſevere; and the north winds blowing on thoſe countries, conſiderably more temperate than I have often experienced them to be nearer the coaſt;" (meaning the Atlantic coaſt) "and that this did not ariſe from an uncertainty of the ſeaſons, but was annually the caſe, I conclude, both from the ſmall quantity of ſnow that fell, and a total diſuſe of ſnow ſhoes by the Indians, without which none of the more eaſtern nations can poſſibly travel during the winter."

When it is remembered, that the ſettlements of the United States, have extended, in little more than a century, upwards of 600 miles back from the Atlantic, under the influence of almoſt continual Indian wars, excluſive of many other cauſes which operated to retard their growth, and which are incidental to the riſe of all infant countries circumſtanced in the peculiar manner that America was; and that it is not only probable, but morally certain, that the preſent ſtrength of the ſettlements weſt of the Allegany mountains, muſt in the courſe of a very few years ſecure them from all invaſion; it appears to me to be an object of the greateſt importance with the preſent federal government to look forward to a circumſtance, upon which the perfection

judgment in this appears ſuperficial, and his mind attached to the theory of its own fabrication.

perfection of their political ſyſtem depends: and it is the more ſo, as the preſent æra of reaſon puts in their power to extend the advantages of civilization with an accelerated force, to which no period that we are acquainted with in the annals of man, has been equally auſpicious.

This object has not eſcaped many of our moſt penetrating legiſlators; and perhaps the ſentiment would have been general, if there had been time, ſince our independence, for the habits of life, and the influence of education, to be done away. But the ſyſtem of the aggrandizing commerce, which originated in Europe, had been tranſplanted upon the ſhores of this continent, and has taken ſuch deep root, as in ſome inſtances to militate, to the injury of philoſophy, and the happineſs of mankind—Hence it has happened that ſpirit of ſelfiſhneſs which is the characteriſtic of prejudice, folly, and impolicy, has ſometimes betrayed its features in the deciſions of our union.

That this ſhould have happened is not in the leaſt extraordinary; but it is to be preſumed, ſince the Europeans are beginning to follow our example, it will give ſtability to thoſe wavering characters, which will always be found among men who have not judgment ſufficient to diſcover the principles of a juſt policy, nor the firmneſs to adopt them without the countenance of others; ſo it has happened, that there have been found evil geniuſes, or ignorance, which have reprobated the ſublime and reaſonable views of the union as chimerical.

The advantages of peace have been clearly aſcertained by the moſt enlightend nations of Europe after ſtruggles for dominion that have coſt them millions of lives, and brought a load of evils upon themſelves, which nothing but Herculian ſtrength would be able to ſupport: but if man has been treated hitherto as a beaſt

tion. Frequent rains in the latter end of the autumn produce floods in the Ohio, and it is an uncommon ſeaſon when one of thoſe floods does not happen before Chriſtmas. If there is much froſty weather in the upper parts of the country, its waters generally remain low until they begin to thaw. But, if the river is not frozen over (which is not very common), there is always water ſufficient for boats of any ſize from November until May, when the waters generally begin to ſubſide; and by the middle of June, in moſt ſeaſons, they are too low for boats above forty tons, and theſe muſt be flat-

beaſt of burthen, the moſt enlightened philoſophers, particularly Dr. Adam Smith, have proved theſe benefits, and the folly of colonization.

I therefore think when we contemplate the progreſs of reaſon, the peculiar nature of the federal government, and the ſingular circumſtance of a people of one intire continent ſpeaking the ſame language, it ſeems that nothing ſhort of a revolution in the natural intellects of men, can fruſtrate the deſign.

I have entered into theſe minutiæ by way of illuſtrating, as far as the ſubject required, and my abilities would permit, to ſhew the advantages of the ſyſtem of government adopted by America; and at the ſame time to ſhew that the country toward the head waters of the Miſſiſſippi is beautiful, rich, and abounding in all the varieties of nature neceſſary to ſupport and embelliſh a great capital.

bottomed. The froſt ſeldom continues ſo long as the middle of February, and immediately upon its breaking, the river is flooded; this flood may in a degree ſubſide, but for no length of time; and it is from that period until May that the boats generally come down the river. The diſtance of deſcending is in proportion to the height of the water; but the average diſtance is about eighty miles in twenty-four hours, and from ſixty to one hundered are the extremes: ſo that the mean time of going in a flat-bottomed boat from Pittſburg to the Rapids, is between eight and nine days, and about twenty days more to New Orleans: which will make a paſſage from Pittſburg to that place nearly a month. The inundations of the Miſſiſſippi commence ſomething later than thoſe of the Ohio; but it is very certain they begin in March, and ſubſide in July. This is the moſt proper time to aſcend the river, as you avoid the ſhoals, have finer weather, but, above all, when the water is high you have ſtronger eddies; and with taking theſe advantages, and with dexterous watermen,

you may proceed fifty miles a day, which will bring you back to the Rapids of the Ohio in forty days, making a large allowance for contingencies.

I ſhall take leave of you for the preſent, with obſerving, that the ſmaller rivers have no ſtated periods to govern their inundations; but are ſubject to be flooded by all heavy rains, which is a great advantage to the country, as it affords the inhabitants frequent opportunities of ſending their produce to the ſeveral markets upon the large rivers.

I am,

Yours, &c.

LETTER VI.

MY DEAR FRIEND, KENTUCKY.

IN the œconomy of the creation how wonderfully is the wiſdom of Providence diſplayed! Some animals are formed with particular ſtomachs, as in the inſtance of the camel, which has one adapted to contain water. It is aboriginal in the torrid zone, where the rarefaction of the air is ſo great, and conſequently more ſubject to drought. In the Artic regions we find the muſk buffalo, or goat, clad with long wool, which ſecures it againſt inclement cold. Man, the moſt defenceleſs, naked, and helpleſs of all in an infant ſtate, in his maturity is ſuperior in reaſon; and thus the faculties of his mind and body unite in making him ſovereign of the world. "Born to deſtroy the inferior race of animals, he would exhauſt all nature, if, by a fecundity ſuperior to his depredations, ſhe did not repair

repair the perpetual havock he makes. But death is only the miniſter of life, and deſtruction is the parent of reproduction."

The articles of ſugar and ſalt, though not abſolutely neceſſaries of life, have become, from habit, ſo eſſential, that I doubt if any civilized people would be content to live without them. The extenſive climate of this country I believe is no where warm enough for the cultivation of the ſugar-cane with ſucceſs; and to import it would be too expenſive by reaſon of its great weight; but nature has ſuperſeded that neceſſity in the ſupply of the ſugar maple-tree. It has been long known that ſugar could be made from the juice of this tree; but from the imperfect knowledge of the buſineſs of ſugar-making, the ſamples from this liquid were ſuch as promiſed no great expectations in future experiments: however, the neceſſity which the people were under of making them, or doing without ſugar, proved, that with care and proper management, it could be made equal to the fineſt ſugars of the Weſt Indies or Brazil. Some ſamples ſhewn to

a ſugar refiner in Philadelphia (which aſtoniſhed him) produced ſeveral inſtructions in the art, which occaſioned immediate ſucceſs. The people began to treat the ſugar-trees more tenderly: and inſtead of chopping a large gap in their trunk, as had always been the practice, and which was ſufficient to deſtroy a leſs tender tree, the juice was found to ooze as effectually from an inciſion made with a ſcrew auger of $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch diameter. But this was the ſmalleſt of the improvements. All the means made uſe of in the Weſt Indies for the perfection of the art were ſoon aſcertained and practiſed: ſo that the country is not only equal to ſupply itſelf with ſugar, but might, with increaſe of hands, ſupply the inhabitants of the globe.

The ſugar maple-tree not only grows in the greateſt abundance throughout this country within the limits I have mentioned, but it is known to be the hardieſt, and the moſt difficult to deſtroy, of all the trees in our foreſts (the beech not excepted) by the planters, who have a method of chopping or girdling the trunks of

trees

trees about one foot and a half above the ground, in order to kill them, and thereby they prevent their crops from being ſhaded.

It is known, that old trees produce the moſt and the richeſt juice; and it is alſo known, trees that have been uſed for years are better than freſh trees. It is a common remark, that whenever you ſee a black tree of this ſort, it is a ſure ſign it is a rich one. The blackneſs proceeds from the inciſions made in the bark by the pecking of the parroquet, and other birds, in the ſeaſon of the juice riſing, which oozing out, dribbles down its ſides, and ſtains the bark, which, in the progreſſion of time, becomes black.

I have mentioned theſe particulars with a view to prevent your falling into the general error, that the reſource of making ſugar from the maple will ſoon be deſtroyed from the very nature of producing it; believing, as many do, that it is impoſſible for the tree to be able to bear the annual wounds which are neceſſary to be made in its trunk in order to draw off the juice; and that a few years muſt neceſſarily extirpate them; now, ſo far from there being any

danger of that, experience has ſhewn, the longer that they are uſed in a proper manner, the more plentiful and rich will be their juice to a certain age; which will be in proportion to the life of thoſe trees. No exact eſtimate can be made of that; but I conclude their decay is not earlier than other trees.

Both in the animal and vegetable world it has been obſerved, that the exiſtence of life, according to the natural order of things, is in proportion to the period of time required to produce maturity. There are exceptions to this principle to be ſure; as the crane and hawk for inſtance, which ſeem to acquire maturity as early as moſt other birds, and are known to live a century and upwards. However, it is very certain that the life of a ſugar maple is as long as an oak, or any other tree.

If there is any analogy between animal and vegetable ſubſtances (and which there moſt certainly is), the increaſing plenty and richneſs of the juice from the uſe and age of the ſugar-tree, will it not be thought more extraordinary, than that the quantity of milk is greater and more rich

rich produced from a cow that has been uſed for years, than from one which has been neglected, or prevented from breeding annually.

The ſeaſon of tapping is moſtly about the middle of February in Kentucky; but not until the latter end of the month, about Pittſburg, in the remote parts of Pennſylvania, on the head branches of the Suſquahana, and Delaware, and in the State of New York. Froſty mornings and bright ſunſhine are neceſſary to produce copious exudations. The ſeaſon continues in this climate about ſix weeks, when the juice is found to be too thin and poor to make ſugar; but it is ſtill capable of making molaſſes, ſpirits by diſtillation, vinegar, and an agreeable table beer.

The buſineſs of ſugar-making is moſtly managed by women and boys; the men generally having nothing more to do with it than to tap the trees, prepare the ſheds, and different apparatus. So that our agricultural employments are very little obſtructed by this buſineſs, which produces ſo important an article for domeſtic uſes. The perfection to which we have brought our ſugars has induced many people in the up-

per parts of the States of New York and Pennſylvania to make a buſineſs of it during the ſeaſon of the juice running; and conſiderable quantities have been ſent to the markets of Philadelphia and York, not inferior to the beſt clayed, French, and Spaniſh ſugars.

The ſalt ſprings that have been found in the ſingle State of Kentucky, under proper management, would be ſufficient to produce ſalt for all the inhabitants which the weſtern country could ſupport. There are at leaſt twelve of thoſe ſprings between Great Sandy and Cumberland; the principal of which are the upper and lower Blue Licks, on Licking Creek; one on the Great-bone Creek; one on Drinnon's Lick Creek, about a mile and a half from the mouth of the Kentucky; and Bullit's Lick, on Salt River, 20 miles from the Rapids of the Ohio. This ſpring is the firſt that was worked in the country. The firſt eſſays in this buſineſs were alſo imperfect, which, however, proceeded more from poverty than ignorance. The great principle by which the ſaline particles are chryſtalized, is univerſally known to be by the evaporation of

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the humid; and the greater the ſuperficial ſurface of that evaporation, the more rapidly the chryſtals will form. But the firſt ſettlers could not procure ſalt pans, and were obliged to uſe as a ſubſtitute the pots and kettles they had brought out for domeſtic purpoſes.

Such was the commencement of making ſalt in this country; which, from its ſcarcity and high price, in ſome meaſure diſcouraged the ſettlement of the country. However, the great improvements ſince that æra have done away all thoſe fears, and ſalt is now manufactured in plenty, and ſold cheap.

The water is by no means ſo ſtrong as ſea water. It requires nearly four hundred gallons to make one buſhel of ſalt, which is more by one half than would be wanted of ſea water to produce that quantity.

The water is not collected immediately from the ſpring. An area of from five to ten acres round thoſe ſprings is found to be impregnated with this mineral, ſo that by digging wells in any part of that ſpace ſalt water is diſcovered. From this circumſtance I am of opinion, that by

digging pits a body of earth would be found ſtrongly impregnated with ſalt, from which the ſaline particles might be more eaſily ſeparated than from water; and it is certain, that if the water receives its particles of ſalt from the earth that it paſſes through, ſuch earth muſt contain a large proportion of ſalt, otherwiſe the ſtrength of the water would not be ſo conſiderable. However, it will require ſome time to determine this matter, as the infancy of our country will not permit us to ſpeculate too largely in experiments that would be attended with heavy expences, were they not to prove ſucceſsful.

Salt ſprings have been found in every part of the weſtern country, which has been well explored, and I have no doubt that time will prove every part of it is well ſupplied with them. The manner by which they are moſtly found in uninhabited places, is by the large buffalo roads which lead to them. Whenever the ramification of thoſe roads begins to concentre, it is almoſt an infallible ſign that a ſalt lick is near. Thoſe animals reſorting to them throughout the temperate part of the year for the benefit of the ſalt,

make

make large roads, which leading from the Lick, branch different ways into the country.

We have various other minerals, ſuch as iron (which is the moſt uſeful), copper, lead, ſulphur, nitre, &c. &c. Iron ore is found in great plenty upon the northern branches of Licking Creek, and likewiſe upon the waters of Green River. A lead mine has been worked many years with conſiderable profit, which lies in the country of Montgomery, upon the waters of the Great Kanhaway. There is another between the Cumberland and Tenaſee rivers, ſaid to be very valuable, and its ore more pure than any other which has been diſcovered in America. But the lead mine on the Miſſiſſippi muſt prove inexhauſtible. It extends from the mouth of Rock River more than 100 miles upwards. Beſides theſe, there are ſeveral others, ſome of which lie on the Spaniſh ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, and have been uſed for years paſt. Copper mines have been diſcovered in ſeveral places, but the mine on the Wabaſh is, perhaps, the richeſt vein of native copper in the bowels of the whole earth;

earth; and no doubt will render all the others of little or no value. Sulphur is found in ſeveral places in abundance; and nitre is made from earth which is collected from caves and other places to which the wet has not penetrated. The making this ſalt, in this country, is ſo common, that many of the ſettlers manufacture their own gunpowder. This earth is diſcovered in greater plenty on the waters of Green River, than it is in any other part of Kentucky. But perhaps ſtill farther ſouthward, it will be found in greater plenty. However, it is ſo common in every part of the country, that it might be made a conſiderable article for exportation. I have heard of black lead mines upon the head waters of the Kentucky, but I have not been able to procure any certain information reſpecting them. But I ſhould conceive that there can be little doubt, that when the country, and particularly the mountainous parts of it, are well explored, all the uſeful minerals will be found in abundance.

I have already mentioned the coal mines in the upper parts of the Ohio country; beſides which

there are great quantities of coal upon the upper branches of the Miſſiſſippi. It is particularly favourable that this mineral lies at the heads of our larger rivers, as it can be ſent down with the greateſt facility; and it is very certain that the great body of it, which the Ohio country alone contains, is equal to anſwer all the purpoſes for which it may be wanted throughout this extenſive empire.

Though the champaign part of this country has no ſtone on its ſurface, yet every where limeſtone is found from 6 to 15 feet below it. Moſt of the bottoms of our rivulets and ſtreams are paved with this ſtone. It is very eaſily calcined, when it becomes excellent lime. It is alſo convenient for building, by reaſon of its peculiar ſmoothneſs, and the eaſe with which it may be worked into any form. Beſides this ſtone, which is the moſt common, every other kind of ſtone is found that is either uſeful or ornamental; ſuch as flint, grindſtone, and millſtones, of a very good quality, which have been reckoned equal to French burrs. There is the

greateſt

greateſt plenty of marble upon the banks of the Kentucky, particularly at Leeſburg. I have not ſeen any that has been poliſhed; but judges in that buſineſs give us the moſt flattering ideas of its quality.

Clay is very common in every part of this country which is proper for bricks; and there is a ſuperior kind on the Beech Fork of Salt River, which no doubt might be manufactured into good porcelain. Carver has mentioned a clay of this ſort that he ſaw above St. Anthony's Falls*. Marle, chalk, gypſum, and ochres, are found in various parts.

Mr. Jefferſon has deſcribed the medicinal, inflammable, bituminous, and other ſprings, very accurately; and as there have been no diſcoveries or light thrown upon the ſubject ſince he wrote, I ſhall refer you to his book for a particular account of them. Indeed, his account of the natural hiſtory of this country is generally to be depended upon, ſo that it is ſcarcely poſſible to make any improvement upon it, until farther diſcoveries

* This you will find mentioned in a note extracted from his book, in the preceding part of this work.

ſhall

ſhall have ariſen: I therefore confine myſelf to ſuch objects as he has not taken notice of, and to ſuch as have preſented themſelves ſince he wrote, occaſionally making ſome ſtrictures and animadverſions upon his opinions and information.

I have obſerved that the climate of this country is various. But, as climate is frequently different in the ſame parallels of latitude, I will endeavour to give you ſome idea of the difference between the climate on the upper parts of the Ohio, Pennſylvania, and Maryland, of Kentucky and Virginia, and of Cumberland and North Carolina, which lie in nearly the ſame parallels one with another.

It is well known that the climate upon the Atlantic coaſt of America is in the extreme of heat and cold, and that it is more variable than when it was firſt ſettled by Europeans; but the winters are milder. The extremes proceed no doubt from the immenſe continent, that lies to the north-weſt, and which is interſperſed with freſh water lakes. The rarefied air of the torrid zone, ruſhing in currents through the upper regions to the Arctic Circle, leaves a vacancy for the

the cold air, which, in ſupplying its place, cauſes thoſe frequent chills or variations in the ſpring and autumn, an alternate froſt, rain, and mild weather in winter, which are ſo common in the middle part of that country. The cold is more ſteady to the north of Hudſon's River; but the power of the ſun to the ſouth of 41°, by counteracting the influence of the northern winds, occaſions thoſe ſudden changes from heat to cold. Opening the country has greatly tended already to leſſen the cold, by conſequence of the greater power of the ſun upon the earth; and a general cultivation, by producing a warmer atmoſphere, through which the north wind paſſes, muſt tend to moderate the climate generally upon the Atlantic ſea.

The greateſt part of Pennſylvania lies between latitude 41° and 39° 40′, and ſhould, from its ſituation upon the globe, be a very excellent climate; and no doubt in time it will. At preſent it is too ſubject to extremes; and by the too frequent and violent bracing, and ſudden relaxation of the animal ſyſtem, the elaſticity of the

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nerves is injured; and thus the marks of age are viſible at an earlier period in ſome parts of America than in others.

Farther ſouthward the cold is leſs; but as the heat is proportionally greater, the extremes are much the ſame quite to South Carolina. As you approach the ridge of mountains that run through America from north to ſouth, the inhabitants look more healthy, which is the conſequence of the climate being more temperate and ſteady.

The country on the upper parts of the Ohio, and between Pittſburg and Lake Erie, is conſiderably colder than Pennſylvania and Maryland, which no doubt is occaſioned, in a great degree, in the former, from its proximity to the mountains; but in a greater degree in both, from the country around them being a continual foreſt.

When you arrive in Kentucky you experience a greater temperature of air than in any country in which I ever travelled, Fahrenheit's thermometer ſeldom falling below 35 deg. in winter, nor riſing above 80 in ſummer. The approach of the

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ſeaſons is gradual. The ſummer continues moſtly to the middle of October. The autumn, or mild weather, generally continues until Chriſtmas, when we have ſome cold and froſt until February; when ſpring approaches, and by the beginning of March ſeveral ſhrubs and trees begin to ſhoot forth their buds; by the middle of the month, the buck-eye or horſe-cheſnut is clad in its ſummer's livery; and by the middle of April the foliage of the foreſts is completely expanded; which is a fortnight earlier than the leaves are ſhot in Virginia and Maryland. Cumberland is proportionally more temperate than North Carolina, as Kentucky is to Virginia.

The rarefied air from the ſouthern regions muſt be more conſiderable from that tract or ſpace of the globe covered by ſalt water than from the countries covered with foreſts. Now, as almoſt all America may be conſidered as one foreſt, it appears to me that the vacancy occaſioned by rarefication in ſouthern latitudes muſt be greater in the regions of air, both over the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, than upon the continent; and

that the cold air from the polar circle ruſhes both to the ſouth-eaſt and ſouth-weſt, and conſequently the middle parts of our continent muſt be leſs ſubject to cold and variation, by being more out of the courſe of the cold winds, than the countries either upon the Atlantic or Pacific ſea-coaſts.

How far this theory may prove ſatisfactory, I can form no idea. If it is unphiloſophical I hope you will treat it accordingly; it is the only way that I can account for the very great difference between the climate of this country, and that of Virginia.

Another cauſe for our greater temperature in ſummer, is, doubtleſs, owing to our lying ſo much higher. It is one continual but gradual riſe from Richmond for 200 miles back. There are ſeveral riſings and fallings afterwards, and ſeveral mountains in the wilderneſs; but I have always obſerved that the riſe from the eaſt to their ſummits, was greater than the deſcent weſt, to their baſe, which makes the elevation of Kentucky conſiderably above that of Virginia. Beſides, Kentucky has no marſhes or bogs, which

are very conſiderable in the lower parts of Virginia, and the exhaled vapours from them produce deleterious air, which appears hotter than it really is.

Mr. Jefferſon's Table of average heat and cold for the different months, made from the obſervations of five ſucceſſive years, though it furniſhed him with a data to eſtimate theoretically the climate of Virginia, can afford you no idea of its temperature. Perhaps, in ſome of thoſe years, the mercury was below o during the winter. But when he has ſtated the leaſt and greateſt daily heat by Fahrenheit's thermometer for January to be from $38\frac{1}{2}°$ to 44°, you can have no conception that there can be any froſt in Virginia. I do not mean to ſay that it is common for the mercury to fall below o in that country, but I mean to be underſtood that froſt is very frequent there, and that by taking the average of the greateſt heat and the greateſt cold, when the extremes are ſo great as they are in Virginia, it is impoſſible for a ſtranger to form a juſt idea of its climate. Mr. Jefferſon allows that the extremes are very conſiderable,

and

and that the mercury has been known to deſcend from 92 deg. to 47 in thirteen hours.

A journey to the Illinois will prevent me from writing to you again as ſoon as I could wiſh, but I ſhall ever remain,

Yours, &c.

LETTER V.

MY DEAR FRIEND, KENTUCKY.

IT is natural, I think, that you ſhould expect by this time ſome account of the inhabitants, their manner of living, the mode of ſettling the country, the routes, diſtance, and mode of travelling to it, with ſome information reſpecting religion and political ſentiments, and the ſocial pleaſures of the people; all of which, I am afraid, will require too much time for a letter, and therefore I beg that you will be content to receive the information in the deſultory manner I ſhall be enabled to ſend it.

In ſome of my firſt letters I gave you an account of the firſt ſettlement of this country. The perturbed ſtate of that period, and the ſavage ſtate of the country, which was one entire wilderneſs, made the object of the firſt emigrants that of ſecurity and ſuſtenance, and produced the

the ſcheme of ſeveral families living together in what were called Stations. Theſe ſtations were a kind of quadrangular, or ſometimes oblong forts, formed by building log-houſes connectedly, only leaving openings for gate-ways to paſs as they might have occaſion. They were generally fixed in a favourable ſituation for water, and in a body of good land. Frequently the head of ſome party of connections who had a ſettlement and pre-emption right, ſeized upon theſe opportunities to have his land cleared, which was neceſſary for the ſupport of the ſtation; for, it was not only prudent to keep cloſe in their forts at times, but it was alſo neceſſary to keep their horſes and cows up, otherwiſe the Indians would carry off the horſes, and ſhoot and deſtroy the cattle.

Under ſuch circumſtances, the firſt ſettlement of Kentucky was formed, which ſoon opened a conſiderable quantity of land in the county of Lincoln, which lies in the upper part of the ſtate, and contiguous to the wilderneſs that ends in this delectable region.

As the country gained ſtrength, the ſtations began to break up in that part of the country,

and their inhabitants to ſpread themſelves, and ſettle upon their reſpective eſtates. But the embarraſſment they were in for moſt of the conveniences of life, did not admit of their building any other houſes but of logs, and of opening fields in the moſt expeditious way for planting the Indian corn; the only grain which was cultivated at that time.

A log-houſe is very ſoon erected*, and in conſequence of the friendly diſpoſition which exiſts among thoſe hoſpitable people, every neighbour flew to the aſſiſtance of each other upon occaſions of emergency. Sometimes they were built of round logs entirely, covered with rived aſh ſhingles, and the interſtices ſtopped with clay, or lime and ſand, to keep out the weather. The next object was to open the land for cultivation. There is very little under-wood in any part of this country, ſo that by cutting up the cane, and girdling the trees, you are ſure of a crop of corn. The fertility of the ſoil amply repays the labourer

* A houſe of this ſort may be made as comfortable and elegant as any other kind of building; and is therefore the moſt convenient, as it may be erected in ſuch a manner as to anſwer the circumſtances of all deſcriptions of perſons.

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for his toil; for if the large trees are not very numerous, and a large proportion of them the ſugar maple, it is very likely from this imperfect cultivation, that the ground will yield from 50 to 60 buſhels of corn to the acre. The ſecond crop will be more ample; and as the ſhade is removed by cutting the timber away, great part of our land will produce from 70 to 100 buſhels of corn from an acre. This extraordinary fertility enables the farmer who has but a ſmall capital to increaſe his wealth in a moſt rapid manner (I mean by wealth the comforts of life). His cattle and hogs will find ſufficient food in the woods, not only for them to ſubſiſt upon, but to fatten them. His horſes want no provender the greateſt part of the year, except cane and wild clover; but he may afford to feed them with corn the ſecond year. His garden, with little attention, produces him all the culinary roots and vegetables neceſſary for his table; and the prolific increaſe of his hogs and poultry, will furniſh him the ſecond year, without fearing to injure his ſtock, with a plenty of animal food; and in three or four years his ſtock of cattle and ſheep

will prove ſufficient to ſupply him with both beef and mutton; and he may continue his plan at the ſame time of increaſing his ſtock of thoſe uſeful animals. By the fourth year, provided he is induſtrious, he may have his plantation in ſufficient good order to build a better houſe, which he can do either of ſtone, brick, or a framed wooden building, the principal articles of which will coſt him little more than the labour of himſelf and domeſtics; and he may readily barter or ſell ſome part of the ſuperfluous productions of his farm, which it will by this time afford, and procure ſuch things as he may ſtand in need of for the completion of his building. Apples, peaches, pears, &c. &c. he ought to plant when he finds a ſoil or eligible ſituation to place them in, as that will not hinder, or in any degree divert, him from the object of his aggrandizement. I have taken no notice of the game he might kill, as it is more a ſacrifice of time to an induſtrious man than any real advantage.

Such has been the progreſs of the ſettlement of this country, from dirty ſtations or forts, and ſmoaky huts, that it has expanded into fertile fields,

fields, bluſhing orchards, pleaſant gardens, luxuriant ſugar groves, neat and commodious houſes, riſing villages, and trading towns. Ten years have produced a difference in the population and comforts of this country, which to be pourtrayed in juſt colours would appear marvellous. To have implicit faith or belief that ſuch things have happened, it is firſt neceſſary to be (as I have been) a ſpectator of ſuch events.

Emigrations to this country were moſtly from the back parts of Virginia, Maryland, Pennſylvania, and North Carolina, until 1784: in which years many officers who had ſerved in the American army during the late war came out with their families; ſeveral families came alſo from England, Philadelphia, New Jerſey, York, and the New England States. The country ſoon began to be chequered after that æra with genteel men, which operated both upon the minds and actions of the back woods people, who conſtituted the firſt emigrants. A taſte for the decorum and elegance of the table was ſoon cultivated; the pleaſures of gardening were conſidered not only as uſeful but amuſing. Theſe improve-

ments in the comforts of living and manners, awakened a ſenſe of ambition to inſtruct their youth in uſeful and accompliſhed arts. Social pleaſures were regarded as the moſt ineſtimable of human poſſeſſions—the genius of friendſhip appeared to foſter the emanations of virtue, while the cordial regard, and ſincere deſire of pleaſing produced the moſt harmonizing effects. Sympathy was regarded as the eſſence of the human ſoul, participating of celeſtial matter, and as a ſpark engendered to warm our benevolence, and lead to the raptures of love and rational felicity.

With ſuch ſentiments our amuſements flow from the interchange of civilities, and a reciprocal deſire of pleaſing. That ſameneſs may not cloy, and make us dull, we vary the ſcene as the nature of circumſtances will permit. The opening ſpring brings with it the proſpect of our ſummer's labour, and the brilliant ſun actively warms into life the vegetable world, which blooms and yields a profuſion of aromatic odours. A creation of beauty is now a feaſt of joy, and to look for amuſements beyond this genial torrent

of

of ſweets, would be a perverſion of nature, and a ſacrilege againſt heaven.

The ſeaſon of ſugar-making occupies the women, whoſe mornings are cheered by the modulated buffoonery of the mocking bird, the tuneful ſong of the thruſh, and the gaudy plumage of the parroquet.—Feſtive mirth crowns the evening.—The buſineſs of the day being over, the men join the women in the ſugar groves, where inchantment ſeems to dwell.—The lofty trees wave their ſpreading branches over a green turf, on whoſe ſoft down the mildneſs of the evening invites the neighbouring youth to ſportive play; while our rural Neſtors, with calculating minds, contemplate the boyiſh gambols of a growing progeny, they recount the exploits of their early age, and in their enthuſiaſm forget there are ſuch things as decrepitude and miſery. Perhaps a convivial ſong or a pleaſant narration cloſes the ſcene.

Rational pleaſures meliorate the ſoul; and it is by familiarizing man with uncontaminated felicity, that ſordid avarice and vicious habits are to be deſtroyed.

Gardening

Gardening and fiſhing conſtitute ſome part of the amuſements of both ſexes. Flowers and their genera form one of the ſtudies of our ladies; and the embelliſhment of their houſes with thoſe which are known to be ſalutary, conſtitute a part of their employment.—Domeſtic cares and muſic fill up the remainder of the day, and ſocial viſits without ceremony or form, leave them without ennui or diſguſt. Our young men are too gallant to permit the women to have ſeparate amuſements; and thus it is that we find that ſuavity and politeneſs of manners univerſal, which can only be effected by feminine poliſh.

The autumn and winter produces not leſs pleaſure. Evening viſits moſtly end with dancing by the young people, while the more aged indulge their hilarity, or diſſeminate information in the diſquiſition of politics, or ſome uſeful art of ſcience.

Such are the amuſements of this country, which have for their baſis hoſpitality, and all the variety of good things that a luxuriant ſoil is capable of producing, without the alloy of

that

that diſtreſs of miſery which is produced from penury or want. Malt liquor, and ſpirits diſtilled from corn and the juice of the ſugar tree mixed with water, conſtitute the ordinary beverage of the country. Wine is too dear to be drank prodigally; but that is a fortunate circumſtance, as it will be an additional ſpur to us to cultivate the vine.

The routes from the different Atlantic States to this country are various, as may be ſuppoſed. From the northern States it is through the upper parts of Pennſylvania to Pittſburg, and then down the river Ohio. The diſtance from Philadelphia to Pittſburg is nearly three hundred miles. From Lancaſter about two hundred and thirty. The route through Redſtone and by Pittſburg, both from Maryland and Virginia, is the moſt eligible, provided you have much baggage; except you go from the ſouthern and back counties of Virginia; then your beſt and moſt expeditious way is through the wilderneſs. From Baltimore, paſſing Old Town upon the Potowmac, and by Cumberland Fort, Braddock's road, to Redſtone Old Fort on the Monongahala,

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is about two hundred and forty miles; and from Alexandria to the ſame place, by Wincheſter Old Town, and then the ſame route acroſs the mountain, is about two hundred and twenty miles. This laſt muſt be the moſt eligible for all Europeans who may wiſh to travel to this country, as the diſtance by land is ſhorter, the roads better, and the accomodations good; *i. e.* they are very good to Old Town, which is one hundred and forty miles from Alexandria, and from thence to Redſtone comfortable, and plentifully ſupplied with proviſions of all ſorts: the road over the mountain is rather rough, but no where in the leaſt difficult to paſs.

Travellers or emigrants take different methods of tranſporting their baggage, goods, or furniture, from the places they may be at to the Ohio, according to circumſtances, or their object in coming to the country. For inſtance, if a man is travelling only for curioſity, or has no family or goods to remove, his beſt way would be to purchaſe horſes, and take his route through the Wilderneſs; but provided he has a family, or goods of any ſort to remove, his beſt way, then, would

would be to purchaſe a waggon and team of horſes to carry his property to Redſtone Old Forte, or to Pittſburg, according as he may come from the northern or ſouthern States. A good Waggon will coſt, at Philadelphia, about 10l. (I ſhall reckon every thing in ſterling money for your greater convenience), and the horſes about 12l. each; they would coſt ſomething more both at Baltimore and Alexandria. The waggon may be covered with canvaſs, and, if it is the choice of the people, they may ſleep in it at nights with the greateſt ſafety. But if they ſhould diſlike that, there are inns of accommodation the whole diſtance on the different roads. To allow the horſes a plenty of hay and corn would coſt about 1s. *per diem*, each horſe; ſuppoſing you purchaſe your forage in the moſt œconomical manner, *i. e.* of the farmers, as you paſs along, from time to time as you may want it, and carry it in your waggon; and not of inn-keepers, who muſt have their profits. The proviſions for the family I would purchaſe in the ſame manner; and by having two or three camp kettles, and ſtopping every evening when the weather is fine upon the

brink

brink of ſome rivulet, and by kindling a fire, they may ſoon dreſs their food. There is no impediment to theſe kind of things, it is common, and may be done with the greateſt ſecurity; and I would recommend all perſons who wiſh to avoid expence, as much as poſſible to adopt this plan. True, the charges at inns on thoſe roads are remarkably reaſonable, but I have mentioned thoſe particulars as there are many unfortunate people in the world, to whom the ſaving of every ſhilling is an object; and as this manner of journeying is ſo far from being diſagreeable, that in a fine ſeaſon it is extremely pleaſant.

Proviſions in thoſe countries are very cheap: beef, mutton, and pork, are ſomething leſs than 2d. per lb.; dunghill fowls are from 4d. to 6d. each; duck 8d.; geeſe and turkeys, 1s. 3d.; butter, 3d.; cheeſe, I will ſay nothing about, as there is very little good until you arrive in Kentucky. Flour is about 12s. 6d. per cwt.

The beſt way is to carry their tea and coffee from the place they may ſet out at; good green tea will be from 4s. 6d. to 6s. per lb.; ſouchong

chong from 3s. to 5s.; coffee will coſt from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d. per lb.; loaf ſugar from $7\frac{1}{2}$d. to $10\frac{1}{2}$d. But I would not recommend their carrying much ſugar, for as the back country is approached, the maple ſugar is in abundance, and may be bought from 3d. to 6d. per lb. Such are the expences to be incurred in travelling to this country by Redſtone and Pittſburg.

The diſtance which one of thoſe waggons may travel one day with another is little ſhort of twenty miles. So that it will be a journey from Alexandria to Redſtone Old Fort of eleven or twelve days, from Baltimore a day or two longer, and from Philadelphia to Pittſburg I ſhould ſuppoſe it would require nearly twenty days; as the roads are not ſo good as from the two former places.

From theſe prices the expence of removing a family, from either of the ſea ports I have mentioned, to the Ohio, may be computed with tolerable exactitude.

The beſt time for ſetting out for this country from any of the Atlantic ports, is the latter end of either September or April. The autumn is

perhaps the moſt eligible of the two; as it is moſt likely that the roads acroſs the mountain will be drier, and proviſions and forage are then both more plentiful and cheap than in the ſpring.

If this mode ſhould not ſuit the convenience of the party, by reaſon of their not wanting a waggon or horſes when they arrive in this country, they may have their goods brought out to Redſtone Old Fort from Alexandria for 12s. per cwt. and in like proportion from Baltimore and Philadelphia.

At Redſtone Old Fort, or Pittſburg, they can either buy a boat, which will coſt them about 5s. per ton, or freight their goods to Kentucky for about 1s. per cwt. There is no regular buſineſs of this ſort; but as there are always boats coming down the river, 1s. per cwt. is the common charge for freight. But more frequently when there is boat room to ſpare, it is given to ſuch as are not able to purchaſe a boat, or have not a knowledge of the navigation. However, that is a buſineſs which requires no ſkill, and there are always numbers of people coming

ing down, who will readily conduct a boat for the ſake of a paſſage.

The diſtance from Philadelphia* by land to Kentucky is between ſeven and eight hundred miles; from Baltimore nearly ſeven hundred; nearly ſix hundred from Alexandria; and upwards of five hundred from Richmond. The roads and accommodations are tolerably good to the borders of the Wilderneſs; through which it is hardly poſſible for a carriage to paſs, great part of the way being over high and ſteep hills, upon the banks of the rivers and along defiles, which in ſome places ſeem to threaten you at every ſtep with danger †. This is the only route the people coming from the upper parts of Virginia and North Carolina can take at preſent to get into

* The diſtances in the ſettled parts only can be computed with any degree of exactitude; but from the beſt information that can be collected, from the Rapids of the Ohio to Santa Fé is about 1000 miles, and from thence to the city of Mexico about 1500.

The computed diſtance between New Orleans and Mexico is ſomething ſhort of 2000 miles, and about the ſame to Santa Fé.

† This road has been conſiderably improved, and a poſt now paſſes weekly through it from Philadelphia to Kentucky.

the country; the gap of Cumberland mountain being the only place it can be paſſed without the greateſt difficulty. The opening the Tenaſee will afford a convenient communication with the Miſſiſſippi. The Wilderneſs, which was formerly two hundred miles through, without a ſingle habitation, is reduced from the ſettlement of Powel's Valley to nearly one half of that diſtance: and it is to be expected that in a few years more that the remainder of the diſtance will afford ſettlements for the accommodation of people travelling that route; when a good road may be made quite to Kentucky. The canals I have ſpoken of, which are cutting on the Potowmac *, and the removal of the obſtructions in Cheat River, will render the paſſage from Alexandria, or the federal city, to the Ohio, both cheap and eaſy.

Upon the arrival of emigrants in the country they generally take a view of that part in which it is their object to ſettle, and according to their

* There are two conſiderable falls in the Potowmac, one about twelve miles above Alexandria, the other nearly thirty, and when theſe canals are completed, which moſt probably will be the latter end of 1793, its navigation will be carried quite into the Allegany mountains.

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circumſtances or calling fix upon ſuch a ſituation as may appear eligible for their buſineſs. But as the greater proportion of the emigrants who come to this country are huſbandmen, I ſhall only take notice of their manner of proceeding and ſettling a farm. Land is to be purchaſed in every part of the country: the prices are various according to the improvements there may be upon it, its quality, and local ſituation; the general price of land, with ſome improvements, is from 12s. to 15s. per acre. Plantations, with orchards and other improvements, may be purchaſed from 1l. to 1l. 5s. per acre; good land, without improvements, may be purchaſed from 1s. 6d. to 8s. per ditto, which price will be according to its rate or quality and ſituation.

Remember, I take notice only of the ſettled country, as I apprehend no European would be hardy enough to form a ſettlement in a wilderneſs, which will be left for the Americans, who, no doubt, from habit, are beſt qualified for that ſort of buſineſs. Indeed, there is a number of people who have ſo long been in the cuſtom of

removing farther and farther back as the country becomes ſettled, for the ſake of hunting, and what they call range for their cattle, which is that of their feeding upon the natural graſs, that they ſeem unqualified for any other kind of life. This is favourable to the ſettling a wild and infant country; and no doubt this diſpoſition will laſt (with ſome) as long as there is left a wilderneſs in America. It is however certain, this is advantageous to ſociety, which will be bettered, and not injured, by ſuch peculiar habits, ſo long as they have new countries to people: for, this adventurous ſpirit tends to accelerate the propagation of domeſtic animals of every ſort.

Perſons of moderate fortune, upon taking poſſeſſion of the land they intend to form into a plantation, procure ſuch ſtock as their circumſtances will admit, and the extent of their object requires.

Let us ſuppoſe an induſtrious man already provided with the neceſſary tools for his agricultural employment, and a little money to buy ſtock. In ſuch a ſituation, after building his houſe in the manner

manner I have mentioned, which will coſt him little more than his labour, he ſhould procure ſome dunghill fowls, a cow, and a breeding ſow. The fowls will produce eggs for his family, the cow milk and butter, if ſhe is well taken care of; and the ſow will produce two, if not three, litters of pigs within the year. Theſe animals are very prolific in this climate and ſoil; and it is not a ſanguine calculation to ſuppoſe the ſow will have eight or ten pigs at each litter; by which means the family will have pork ſufficient for the next year; and the year after they may barter bacon for beef and mutton, which I will conclude their circumſtances have not permitted them, as yet, to purchaſe. His labour will have provided him with corn before this time, and in the extenſion of his plantation, and the increaſe of his cow and hogs, his difficulties will be over, and a few years of induſtry and perſeverance will make him a man of property. The increaſing ratio of ſtock is prodigious, where proviſion for them coſts ſo little as it does here, and where the fertility of the ſoil is ſo wonderful. His fowls will coſt about three-pence each, his breed-

ing ſow about five ſhillings, and his cow, if a very good one, of 4 cwt. and upwards, will coſt him from thirty to forty ſhillings.

I have hitherto ſuppoſed this induſtrious man not in circumſtances to enable him to uſe horſes and plough, but obliged to hoe his corn; the only difficulty of which will be the preparing the ground for the ſeed. According to this imperfect cultivation I will conclude that his crop of corn will not be more than 30 buſhels to the acre. Now an induſtrious man making a ſettlement in the autumn would be able to open three acres of land, in the manner I have related, before the time of planting, which will be in April or May; indeed, as late as June will anſwer; ſo that he may take advantage of this favourable circumſtance, and, by planting at different periods, he will be better enabled to cultivate his crop, as it will not all require his attendance at the ſame time. Allowing half an acre for vegetables and pulſe, and the yield of his labour will be 75 buſhels of corn. Admitting then that he has a wife and two children, I will allow one half of this corn for their year's ſupport, which, with

with the animal food his ſtock will afford him, and vegetables, will conſtitute a comfortable living. The other half he may ſell, and purchaſe thoſe artificial neceſſaries his family may want. The ſecond autumn and winter he may open two acres more, and put the other three into better condition; one of which ſhould be ſown with flax or hemp ſeed, in order to give employment to his wife, and to provide linen for domeſtic uſes. His crop of corn the ſecond year, with the extended and improved cultivation, will not be ſhort of 125 buſhels. The ſurplus quantity of this year's crop will go a great way towards purchaſing a horſe and plough; and as the third crop will be more ample, he will then find himſelf comfortable and independent. I have all long ſuppoſed this farmer to have made prompt payment for every thing that he has wanted, which is ſeldom aſked from an induſtrious man who is anxious to provide for his family. Such a man may not only have credit for horſes and cattle, but even for the land; and in a very little time, with induſtry, he may pay the whole off. I have taken no notice

tice of the taxes he will have to pay, as it is moſt likely they would not, all together, amount to five ſhillings.

Proviſions of every ſort are both plenty and cheap in this country. Flour is from 6s. to 9s. per cwt. according to its quality. Indian corn is from 9d. to 1 s. per buſhel. Beef is from 1½d. to 2d. per lb. Veal, 2½d. per ditto. Mutton, 3d. ditto; which high price is owing to the general deſire the farmers have to increaſe their ſtocks. Pork is from 2d. to 2½d. per lb. Bacon, from 3½d. to 4d. Bacon hams, from 4d. to 5½d. Salt beef, 2d. Hung or dried beef, 3d. Neats tongues, 6d. each. Buffalo ditto, which are a moſt delicious morſel, 9d. Dunghill fowls, ducks, Muſcovy ditto, geeſe, turkeys, Guinea fowls, and pigeons, are proportionally cheap. Butter is from 2½d. to 3½d. per lb. Cheeſe from 2d. to 3d. per ditto.

We have a variety of fiſh in our rivers; the moſt eſteemed of which are the perch, trout, buffalo fiſh, and ſoft turtle. The perch is in ſize from 5 to 12 lb. is firm and fat in its ſeaſon, which is from February until July, and is

equal

equal to any ſalt water fiſh I ever taſted. The trout is caught from 8 to 30lb. weight. This fiſh is too univerſally known and admired to require any account of its excellence, particularly as the trout in England is the exact miniature of ours. The buffalo fiſh is in ſize from 4 to 8lb. is a very fine fiſh, but inferior to the two former. But the ſoft turtle is, perhaps, the moſt delicious fiſh in the world, and amply compenſates for our having no other teſtaceous fiſh. This turtle is gelatinous, except a ſmall ſhell upon its back, about the bigneſs of the palm of the hand. The weight is from 6 to 10 lb.

Moſt people make their own ſugar; but when it is ſold, the price is from 3d. to 4½d. per lb. according to its fineneſs. The buſineſs of ſugar refining is only commencing, which makes it impoſſible to ſay exactly what will be the general price of loaf or refined ſugar; but I conclude it will be proportionally low with raw ſugar, as the buſineſs can be carried on in this country at leſs expence than in Philadelphia and York, where the price of the neceſſaries of life is ſo much higher. Tea, coffee, chocolate, and

ſpices,

ſpices, are ſomething higher here than in Philadelphia. Good green tea is from 5s. to 8s. per lb. Imperial or gunpowder, 10s. 6d. Pearl and ſchoulong from 12s. to 16s. Good ſouchong from 4s. 6d. to 7s. per ditto. Bohea from 2s. to 3s. 6d. Coffee, from 1s. 9d. to 2s. Chocolate, from 1s. 6d. to 1s. 8d. Spices are moſtly 25 per cent. higher than they are at Philadelphia or Baltimore.

I have entered into ſeveral minutiæ, in order that you may have a more clear idea of the people and ſituation of this country. I have not aimed ſo much at being agreeable, as to convey information.

In a country in the zenith of the perfection of arts, and one juſt removing the ſhade of ſavage wildneſs, the contraſt appears, I know, greater to an European than it really is. We have more of ſimplicity, and you more of art.---We have more of nature, and you more of the world. Nature formed our features and intellects very much alike; but while you have metamorphoſed the one, and contaminated the other, we preſerve the natural ſymbols of both. You have

more

more hypocriſy—we are ſincere. You are more cunning and adroit, which your laws and habits have rendered part of your natures. We are not ſo ſtupid as to not ſee through the veil; but when an European does us the honour to viſit us, we have both too much hoſpitality and ſuavity of manners to inform them they have neither ſentiments nor religion. A few years reſidence with us teaches them that important truth, and ſelf-conviction is always the moſt laſting.

However, a delineation of the laws, and ſubſtance of the opinions, which our new code will contain, will give you a better conception of our moral and political ſentiments, and their probable duration; and with hopes that an early opportunity will preſent itſelf to forward my letter upon that ſubject, I ſhall take my leave of you for the preſent, my dear friend, with wiſhing you every poſſible felicity. Farewell.

I am,

With the utmoſt regard and eſteem,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER VIII.

MY DEAR FRIEND, KENTUCKY.

OUR laws and government have for their baſis the natural and impreſcriptible rights of man. Liberty, ſecurity of perſon and property, reſiſtance againſt oppreſſion, doing whatever does not injure another, a right to concur, either perſonally or by our repreſentatives in the formation of laws, and an equal chance of arriving to places of honour, reward, or employment, according to our virtues or talents, conſtitute thoſe rights. Theſe are the principles of our conſtitution; and laws grafted upon theſe ſimple but ſubſtantial principles, and a ſyſtem of legal juriſprudence organized, and acting accordingly, forms the eſſence of our government. Whenever the government ſwerves materially from theſe fundamental principles, the compact is diſſolved, and things revert to a co-equal ſtate. Thus,

Thus, by this plain definition of the nature of laws and government, every capacity, and every individual of the community, can judge with preciſion of the purity of legiſlation; which produces the moſt entire conviction in the minds of all men, of the neceſſity there is of acting in every inſtance according to the code of reaſon and truth. Every man is equally concerned in the welfare and proſperity of his country; his own felicity can only be co-exiſtent with it; and to ſuffer his ambition to run counter to the general weal would be madneſs in an enlightened commonwealth, as it could only tend to produce his own eternal diſgrace or ruin, where the genius of freedom is enthroned in the heart of every citizen.

Europe has long been enſlaved by forms and authorities; and, while its multifarious laws and cuſtoms have ſerved only to perplex profeſſional men, the ſophiſtry employed in expounding them has completely bewildered the imaginations of its citizens, and produced an obſcurity of ideas upon the ſubject of juriſprudence and government, which is truly deplorable. There is an old adage which ſays, "That too much learning

"makes

" makes a man a fool." The pandects, and civil law, added to the barbarous codes of the anceſtors of men in your hemiſphere, have tended not a little to embarraſs the minds of men; for after a life devoted to the ſtudy and inveſtigation of abſurdity, the miſerable ſtudent has generally found one foot in the grave before he has been able to diſcover the impoſſibility of obtaining the object of his purſuit.

Religion, or what you call an eſtabliſhment, has had its ſhare in rivetting the fetters of ignorance. The elucidation of truth has been retarded by the tyranny of the church; for while *prieſts have been the pedagogues of religion, morals, ſentiments, and politics*, their intereſted views have been the cauſe of their flattering that government, whoſe intereſt it was to keep the people ignorant, as it ſecured to them the undiſturbed diviſion of the ſpoils of the induſtry of the great bulk of your citizens, while they were offering an indignity as groſs to the Deity as their ſyſtem was unnatural and unjuſt. What can be a greater ſupererogation, than preſuming to arraign or judge of the ſentiments of men, the propriety of which

which is to be determined before a tribunal in heaven? It is an inſult too groſs to merit a comment. It has been ſubverſive of all good morals, by affording a veil to cover the hypocriſy of the moſt deſigning knaves.

You muſt excuſe this digreſſion; I have made it for a ſubject of reflection for you, that your mind may be prepared to judge impartially of a ſyſtem ſo very ſimple, as that upon which the fabric of our government acts. It was firſt neceſſary to ſhew the cauſe which has produced that myſtery you reverence as wiſdom; but which is abſolutely founded in perplexity of opinion and ignorance; or to give you a clue to reflections that may develope its fallacy.

Every man who is taxed or rated has a vote in the appointment of the repreſentatives of the State; which conſiſt of two houſes, i. e. the Houſe of Delegates and the Senate, who chuſe a Preſident, or Governor, for one year. The Governor chuſes his own council to adviſe with him in all public matters. It is not immediately neceſſary that the legiſlature ſhould approve of his appointments; but to prevent the poſſibility of the

exerciſe of prodigality and contumely, they have reſerved to themſelves the privilege of objecting to ſuch characters for his adviſers who have not the public approbation; which has the good effect of producing harmony between the government and the people—of obliging men who aſpire to the honours of their country to reſpect the public opinion; and it prevents the proſtitution of principle, by interdicting the pernicious conſequences of favouritiſm; while no ill can flow from this negative, as it is not to be preſumed that the collected ſentiments of a whole ſtate can ever be prejudiced againſt an individual; and it is impoſſible for the minds of the legiſlature to be warped againſt their Preſident, without ſufficient grounds. The very idea is a ſoleciſm in reaſon.

Mr. Jefferſon, ſpeaking of the government of Virginia, complains, that the ſenate, by its conſtitution, is too homogeneous with the houſe of delegates (our ſenate is elected and conſtituted in the ſame manner as the ſenate of Virginia), becauſe they are choſen by the ſame electors, at the ſame time, and out of the ſame citizens; and

and therefore he ſays, the choice falls upon the ſame deſcription of men. It is not exactly thus, though it is liable to be ſo. The manner of nominating the repreſentatives of every country ſhould be as general as poſſible. Government is a compact entered into by every community for the ſecurity of the happineſs and proſperity of the State; every member of which is one of the aggregate body of that State; therefore laws ought to emanate from the ſentiments of the people.

The wiſdom of having two houſes of repreſentatives is, that they may be a mutual check upon each other; and it is expected that the experience and collected wiſdom of the ſenate, who are a leſs active body than the houſe of delegates, will more maturely weigh the probable conſequences of any act, and prevent, by their ſuſpenſion, any pernicious effects that might reſult from its paſſing into a law; or, by giving time to the houſe of aſſembly, they may correct their own errors.

If the ſenate has not always been choſen of men of the greateſt experience, is has no doubt originated from the ignorance of its political in-

ſtitution; but that is no argument againſt the policy of the ſyſtem. It requires time for every government to acquire its proper tone, and the people muſt become familiar with that tone, before they can make a proper uſe of the inſtrument. At any rate, Mr. Jefferſon's opinion appears to me premature; for if it is neceſſary to have two houſes of repreſentatives, clearly they ought to be elected by the people. As to their being elected at the ſame time, and from the ſame deſcription of men, this can ſignify very little, as it adds to the number of repreſentatives, and conſequently there is a more general conſent to the legiſlation. However, our ſenate will be choſen for three years, and the houſe of delegates will be elected annually; and it appears to me, that the people will not only ſoon diſcover the object of its political inſtitution, but will carry it into effect. They have only to diſcover the wiſdom of chuſing men of experience for the ſenate, to make it a general practice; and it moſt certainly is better to have the ſyſtem thus open, than by confining the elegibility of a ſenator to the reſtriction of a particular age, as that would

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not only be an encroachment upon the liberties of the citizens, but it would frequently deprive us of the exercise of useful aud splendid talents, which might have an opportunity of obtaining a seat in the senate, when he could not in the house of delegates by consequence of the greater popularity of the delegates of the district or county to which he might belong.

The President of the State is chosen annually, and eligible for the succeſſive years; after which he must remain out of office three years before he can become again eligible. He has a negative voice upon all acts, in consequence of which every usurpation is prevented from being surreptitiously practised upon the people by the two houses of assembly; and thus a check is given to any inconsiderate step or impetuosity of the legislature, until the sense of the people can be made known, and measures taken accordingly. The President is, besides, the guardian of the police of the State, has the power, with the advice of his council, to pardon criminals, and by proclamation governs or corrects the influence of all extraneous cases:

Such is the organization of our legiſlative power, which originated from a convention of the people, and may be altered, improved, or amended, by another convention of the ſame kind, whenever its practice proves its imperfection or deficiency. Thus it is, that in the progreſſion of philoſophy and politics, as well as in arts, and the appropriation of experimental truths, the perfection of government is to be aſcertained.

All the powers of government revert to the people, and they ought to revert to them; the judiciary having been reſerved to them through the medium of juries. The legiſlative they intruſt to their repreſentatives who are eſſentially the ſame; and the executive emanates from the legiſlature, ſo that the whole are ultimately reſponſible to the people. The executive to the repreſentatives, and the repreſentatives to their conſtituents.

Such is the influence of education and habit that Mr. Jefferſon, who has given every poſſible proof of his attachment to liberty, although educated when ariſtocratical opinions were common,

mon, ſays this is "preciſely the definition of deſpotic government," and he adds, "that it can prove no alleviation that the powers will be exerciſed by a plurality of hands, and not by a ſingle one," and then he triumphantly begs, "thoſe who doubt it, to turn their eyes on the Republic of Venice." When he wrote this part of his notes, he ſeems to have been of the opinion of Mr. Burke (whoſe paradoxical book has found its way out here), when he remarked "that government was a contrivance of human wiſdom." Otherwiſe I am at a loſs to conceive how he could compare a government acting upon the unalienable privileges, and the light of reaſon, to a dark ariſtocracy which has rivetted upon the minds of their citizens the moſt diabolical ſuperſtition, and who have no more chance of judging of the polity of their ſenate, than they have capacity: but ſpread the rays of philoſophy and truth among the Venetians, and then, if their tyrants practiſe the ſame deſpotiſm with impunity, I will allow that Mr. Jefferſon's parallel is juſt. Yet ſuch arguments would deſerve nothing but contempt, were not their

author reſpectable for his cardinal virtues, as well as for the career he bore in the glorious ſtruggles for American independence. However it is a lamentable conſideration that men of talents and genius, who have acquired celebrity among the friends of freedom, ſhould, by vainly circulating their crude ſentiments, retard the progreſs of reaſon.

What myſtery can there be either in politics or religion? Laws founded upon the rights of men, and executed with preciſion, of which every capacity is adequate to judge, conſtitute the perfection of the ſcience of government. It is the creation of a diſtinction of powers, with views to intereſt, which infallibly leads to the obſcurity of the human mind; a diſtinction to be avoided as much as poſſible, for the purpoſe of leaving in the hands of the people or their agents the whole powers of government. What fear of a bad adminiſtration is to be apprehended, when it is the intereſt of every individual to continue the guardian of his country's proſperity? It is promoting a diſtinction when there is none; and by creating a jealouſy of power, a real

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and growing evil is produced, when the danger was only imaginary. What intereſt, but that of the public, can a legiſlature have in making the executive part of the government reſponſible to them? What poſſible danger or inconvenience can flow from ſuch reſponſibility in an enlightened State? The maxims of reaſon and ignorance are different.

The idea which Mr. Jefferſon makes uſe of in another part of his book, that the aſſembly may aſſume "all the powers legiſlative, executive, and judiciary, and that theſe may come to the ſmalleſt rag of delegation" is perfectly nugatory. The judiciary power the people never parted with entirely, and the executive by the agents of the repreſentatives, qualified to judge of the laws and nature of our particular conſtitution, is not only a cuſtom, but forms a part of the government. It is one of the ſprings by which the harmony of the ſyſtem is preſerved; and ſhould it at any time be deſtroyed, it is the people who are to rectify the abuſe. They are the potential fountain of all power; and it is only neceſ-

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ſary for them and their agents to know this, in order to prevent every danger of the wheels of government being clogged and impeded by the deſtruction of any one of its eſſential ſprings.

The legiſlature is not only unqualified for a tribunal to judge of its own laws from the plurality of its numbers, but it is impoſſible that it could have any object of tyranny in view, when men are familiar with their own rights! and I beg to know what motive, in common ſenſe, could ſuggeſt the idea of embarraſſing government by mutilating one of its branches? Or is it poſſible that Mr. Jefferſon, when he ſaid under this ſyſtem, the aſſembly might "aſſume all the powers of government," could mean, that as the executive power emanated from the legiſlature, it was liable to be ſuborned, or under the controul of the repreſentatives of the State? This idea appears indeed too childiſh ever to have entered into the head of even an indifferent ſtateſman: the executive agents of a government being independent in their appointments of every power but the laws, are

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no more liable to be controuled by the legiſlature, than by any other power which might appoint them.

Kentucky is divided into counties in like manner as the other States, which are ſimilar to the counties in England. It has been the crude practice hitherto, that each county ſhould have two delegates, and one ſenator to repreſent them, without any regard to the number of ſuffrages they contained. This imperfect ſyſtem will be changed by our amended plan as ſoon as it can be finiſhed, and a *cenſus* taken of the inhabitants; and every county will then have its number of repreſentatives in proportion to its population—which ſeems to be the only conſiſtent delegation. However, our old ſyſtem as yet has not produced any bad effects; and as the fluctuations of the populations of the counties were very great, perhaps an attempt at a more exact equality would have been premature.

It is when the local intereſt of a State becomes different or various, that this partial repreſentation is liable to abuſe of privileges; but,

for

for that reaſon it ought to be remedied in every State as early as poſſible.

In every county magiſtrates, or juſtices of the peace, are appointed by the people, but commiſſioned by the Governor or Preſident: they act without reward. Their number is in proportion to the population of their diſtrict, and they are nominated from time to time as the inhabitants increaſe, or a vacancy happens from death, or any other cauſe; or as their miniſtry may be required. The moſt diſcreet and reſpectable men for integrity and knowledge are promoted to this office.

If it ſhould happen that an ignorant perſon were to acquire popularity ſufficient to ſecure his nomination to the office of a juſtice of the peace, the Governor is not obliged to commiſſion him: thus, if the people ſhould be ignorant, they are obliged to ſtand upon their guard, and from this vigilance ſprings the activity of inveſtigation.

Theſe magiſtrates have juriſdiction both criminal and civil. If the queſtion be of law only, they decide on it themſelves; but if it be of fact,

or

or fact and law combined, it must be referred to a jury: the jurors decide the fact, and refer the law arising on it to the decision of the judges. However, this division of the subject lies with their discretion only; and if the question relate to a point of public liberty, or if the judges are suspected of partiality, the jury undertake to decide both law and fact, which obliges judges to be regular, prompt, and just.

When laws are simple, and understood, it is certainly better to leave the decision of a legal question to twelve upright men, than to the arbitrary fiat of interested or prejudiced judges. But it is by this poise, or balance of power, between the jurors and judges, that fair and equitable administration is secured.

The magistrates execute their process by the sheriff, or by constables. If any person commit an offence against the State, if it be below the degree of felony, he is bound by a magistrate to appear before their court to answer it on indictment or information. If the offence amount to felony, he is committed to prison, a court of magistrates is called, and if on examination they find him guilty,

guilty, he is ſent to the general court priſon, before which court he is to be tried by a jury of twenty-four, thirteen of whom muſt concur in opinion; if they find him guilty, he is then tried by a jury of twelve of his own county where he offended, and by their verdict (which muſt be unanimous) he is acquitted or condemned without appeal. The Governor has the power to pardon, except in caſe of treaſon, in which caſe the right reſides in the General Aſſembly. Such do we conceive to be the value of the life of every citizen, that we afford him every poſſible chance of proving his innocence.

In civil matters, if the value in diſpute be leſs than twenty ſhillings, a ſingle magiſtrate may try it at any time and place within his county, and may award execution on the goods of the party caſt. If it be of that, or greater value, it muſt be determined before the county court, when the quorum of magiſtrates muſt be four at leaſt; for which purpoſe, county courts muſt be holden ſome day in every month, in the court-houſe of the different counties. From theſe determinations, if the value be more than 10l. or

concern the boundaries of land, there lies an appeal to one of the ſuperior courts. It is optional with the party who brings the action, if the demand is above 10l. to bring it either in the county, or general court.

We have two ſuperior courts. The high court of chancery, and the general court. Both receive appeals from the county courts, and alſo have original juriſdiction, where the value is above 10l. or where the diſpute is concerning land. The high court of chancery is compoſed of three judges; the general court of five. The chancery holds its ſeſſions twice a year, at ſtated periods. The general court ſeſſions are quarterly; twice a year for civil and criminal, and twice for criminal only. There is alſo a ſupreme court called the Court of Appeals, compoſed of the judges of the two ſuperior courts, which aſſembles twice a year alſo, at ſtated times, at the capital of the State. This court receives appeals in all caſes from each of the ſuperior courts, and determines them finally. This court has no original juriſdiction.——Thus far we have followed the model and practice of Virginia. We have

have no court of admiralty, nor have we completed our ſyſtem of juriſprudence; but I will endeavour to give you the outlines or principles which will conſtitute its baſis.

The firſt object of every free government is ſecurity of perſon and property; which is called Freedom. Without ſuch a preſervation there can be no pure liberty. Under ſuch a government, every citizen has a right to do whatever does not injure another. The hinge of ſecurity in a civilized ſtate is the ſecurity of property; but, in the ſecurity given to property, it is neceſſary that care ſhould be taken not to endanger the liberty of even one of the citizens of a ſtate. For the preſervation of perſonal liberty, ſome ſafeguard ſhould be kept, provided by law, both upon the deſigning and unſuſpicious, in order to avoid the great inconveniences that have flowed from knavery and credulity, as well in moſt of the United States as in Europe. Priſons and dungeons have been perverted into both aſylums for rapine and fraud, and into cells of ſolitary miſery and wretchedneſs, which have in no degree checked the career of diſſipation and

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prodigality, or produced more induſtry or care; and while the reſentment of diſappointed avarice has been glutted in the fury of revenge, the world has loſt much of the talents and ingenuity of ſome of its moſt valuable citizens. Laws ſhould be calculated to prevent diſtreſs from intemperance and folly, and the commiſſion of crimes, as much as poſſible. Creditors ought to be made cautious in their ſecurity, and when they have truſted beyond a certain ſum, or have not taken proper precautions, they ſhould be liable to loſe the debt. This would neceſſarily make the parties prudent, and ſo far from being injurious to trade, it would prevent many inconveniences which reſult from haſty dealings and inſufficient ſecurity. Habit and cuſtom act as powerfully in buſineſs as in any thing elſe. Men would ſoon acquire this ſure way of dealing, and thereby their property would be preſerved, and the liberty and talents of every citizen made uſeful to the ſtate. Every man who lives within his income, and makes prompt payment for what he purchaſes, is known to be a more valuable member of ſociety than a man who is ir-

regular and uncertain in his payments; and it is the rapid circulation of money in the common affairs of life, which tends to lower the price of its neceſſaries as effectually, as the frequent returns in commerce tend to accumulate the capital employed. Laws may be made of this ſort, I am ſure, to regulate the tranſactions of men, without injuring commerce in the leaſt; on the contrary, it would render it more profitable, vigorous, and extenſive. Liberty, and the rights of men, have been ſhamefully profaned under the crude idea of the aggrandiſement of commerce. The fallacy of old errors will moulder away under the radiance of Philoſophy, and man muſt look back with indignation at the ſacrilege which has ſullied his rank and dignity as a human being. Examine the catalogue of the poor and unfortunate debtors who have miſerably endured the tortures of cold, hunger, and ſickneſs, in a dungeon, loſt to their family and friends, prevented from a poſſibility of obtaining the neceſſary means to cancel their penal obligations, and left to brood over the calamities to which the follies of a ſanguine youth, bad education,

cation, and pernicious laws, have reduced them, and which had encouraged them in the career of vice, and punifhed them in the hour of defpair and mortification; and you muft be infenfible indeed not to deprecate that degradation which indigefted, inhuman, and impolitic inftitutions have produced in every part of the world. Thefe are the fentiments of many of our legiflators, and from fuch opinions, I flatter myfelf, we fhall afford teftimony fufficient that prifons are unneceffary, except for homicides and traitors, who ought to be tried as immediately as the nature of the cafe would admit. It is the certainty of punifhment, and the terror of inftantly fuffering, that deter men from the commiffion of thofe crimes where the confcience is concerned. It is our nature to look at every thing which is remote with indifference; but proximity excites fome fentations of joy or fear in the hearts of the moft callous.

It is a cruel mortification to the progeny or family of any man who has difgraced his memory by murder, treafon, or any other crime, againft either the laws of God or the State; and

it is a lamentable conſideration in human affairs, that it ſhould be neceſſary to make examples which are ſo degrading to the dignity of our natures. Should we then offer inſult to misfortune, and reduce to beggary the innocent offspring or connections of an offending culprit? Surely not. The State is the tutelary guardian of its citizens, the protector of innocence, the promoter of felicity and proſperity, the avenger of wrongs; and not the ſpoiler of comfort, and the tyrant of humanity. For theſe reaſons, neither murder, treaſon, or any other crime, ought to rob the family of the property of the offender by forfeiture of lands and goods to the State.

Malefactors, ſuch as have been guilty of petty treaſon, manſlaughter, ſodomy, maiming, diſfiguring, counterfeiting money, robbery, burglary, houſe-breaking, horſe-ſtealing, grand larceny, petty larceny, &c. &c. ſhould be condemned to labour for the State during ſuch a length of time as would be proportionable to the crimes they had committed, which ſhould be defined by law; and in caſe it ſhould be found from experience that this ſyſtem did not tend to deter

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from the commiſſion of crimes, and was productive of other bad effects, it would then be time enough to introduce more rigorous meaſures. It is however certain, that as yet the ſyſtem in queſtion has not had ſufficient time to be experienced in its full effects in thoſe States that have introduced it in part. But ſo far as a judgment can be formed, it is reaſonable to expect the moſt ſalutary conſequences from ſuch humane meaſures. Our criminal code will be eſtabliſhed upon theſe lenient principles. Our laws reſpecting foreigners will be founded on the broad baſis of hoſpitality, and the friendly principle, that the world ought to be governed as one great family. Reſpecting marriage and ſucceſſion, more conformably to the laws of nature, than the laws of Europe:—women are permitted to enjoy all the privileges, and all that protection, to which reaſon and delicacy entitle them. It is upon ſimilar principles that property is diſtributed in an equal and conſiſtent manner; and that a father is not ſuffered to diſinherit a child, except he can make it appear to a court of juſtice, that he is radically vicious; and even then, ſuch a de-

reliction muſt be coerced with conſiderations pointed out by the law.

Such are the collected ſentiments of the people upon the ſubject of law and government; and we have the ſatisfaction to know they are analogous to the opinions of a wiſe and judicious European author, whoſe virtues and ſuperior good ſenſe have given them a conſequence in your own nation, which does him the higheſt honour; and therefore I will quote from him to conclude this letter, which will ſhew that the ſentiments of enlightened men, upon the ſubject of freedom and government, differ in no reſpect from the ſimple ideas of men who have no guide but reaſon and common ſenſe.

" The true intereſt of the people, then, is to be ſubject to a legiſlation, which, while it reſpects the enjoyments of the rights of mankind, is ſolely intent upon procuring it; and which, faithful to the principles of an enlightened reaſon, ſeeks only the ſureſt and ſimpleſt means of obtaining this end.——Whatever be the form of government to which the people are ſubjected, a free commerce, an unreſtrained induſtry, civil laws

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diſtinguiſhed for their ſimplicity, criminal laws for their juſtice and humanity, founded upon the nature of man, and of ſociety, and deduced from theſe principles by reaſon, ought to be every where the ſame."——Farewell.

Yours, &c.

LETTER IX.

MY DEAR FRIEND, KENTUCKY.

I HAD the pleaſure of receiving, within theſe two days, your favour, dated the 24th of Auguſt laſt, and admire the virtue and humanity of thoſe of your citizens you mention to have left off the uſe of Weſt India produce, in conſequence of your parliament not having adopted any mode of effecting the abolition of the ſlave trade.

The little pamphlet you did me the favour to ſend with your packet, addreſſed to the people of Great Britain on that ſubject, with obſervations upon the ſituation of the unfortunate Africans enſlaved, contains the pureſt ſentiments of benevolence, and the moſt rational ideas, and it is written with a preciſion which does the higheſt honour to the author's head, as well as to his heart.

We have diſgraced the fair face of humanity, and

and trampled upon the ſacred privileges of man, at the very moment that we were exclaiming againſt the tyranny of your miniſtry; but in contending for the birth-right of freedom, we have learned to feel for the bondage of others; and, in the libations we offer to the fair goddeſs of Liberty, we contemplate an emancipation of the ſlaves of this country, as honourable to themſelves, as it will be glorious to us.

I have been aſhamed, in reading Mr. Jefferſon's book, to ſee, from one of the moſt enlightened and benevolent of my countrymen, the diſgraceful prejudices he entertains againſt the unfortunate negroes. But if he has given Europeans a flagrant proof of his prejudices, he has afforded common ſenſe an opportunity of judging from his paradoxes, that ſuch cannot be the general ſentiments of the people of America.

In the reviſion of a code of laws propoſed for the State of Virginia, it was recommended to emancipate all ſlaves born after paſſing the act, who were to be brought up, at the public expence, to different vocations, until females ſhould be eighteen, and the males twenty-one years of

age;

age; when they ſhould be colonized to ſuch place as circumſtances ſhould render moſt proper, giving them arms, implements, &c. &c. to declare them a free and independent people, and extend to them their alliance and protection, until they ſhould have acquired ſtrength and power equal to ſelf-protection.

Concerning which meaſure, Mr. Jefferſon ſays, "It will probably be aſked, Why not retain and incorporate the blacks?" He then attempts to give reaſons to prove why it would be impolitic; by alleging that the deep-rooted prejudices of the whites, and the recollection of paſt injuries by the blacks, would be productive of continual feuds, which would probably never end but in the extermination of one or the other race.

To ſuch objections, which he calls political, he ſays, "may be added others, which are moral and phyſical." I will obſerve upon his *political* opinions firſt. The great charge ſuch a buſineſs would be to that State, would neceſſarily tend to procraſtinate its execution, and perhaps render abortive the whole deſign, by making it neceſſary to relinquiſh an object which the finances

of the government would not admit of being carried into execution; and thus a moſt odious tyranny would be prolonged. Beſides, what could be ſo impolitic, in ſuch a country as Virginia, as baniſhing a numerous claſs of men who might be made uſeful citizens, riſking a depopulation of one colour, in order to ſupply their places with another; an undertaking which, independent of the great expence it would be attended with, would alſo prove ſurrounded by many other difficulties. From what country is the vacancy to be filled? Emigrations have been frequent from Europe to America: but it would require a length of time to recruit 250,000 inhabitants, which, I ſuppoſe, is nearly the amount of the ſlaves of Virginia.

There are in politics, as well as in phyſic, caſes which require irregular preſcriptions. There is no law in nature which binds one man to another; and laws, which are not founded in the principles of reaſon and truth, invalidate themſelves. There is no ſtatute which gives power to a white man to exerciſe deſpotiſm over a man becauſe he is black. It is contrary to our bill

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of rights, as well as repugnant to the code of nature. But the miſchief lies in the prejudices of the times. A complete emancipation, perhaps, would not be borne in Virginia; for which reaſon it muſt be gradual, as it has been in Pennſylvania. It would therefore be wiſe in that State to attach their ſlaves to the land of their reſpective maſters for a certain term of years; after which they ſhould be at liberty to change their ſituations, as their circumſtances or pleaſure would direct, the ſame as any other tenants.

Such a ſyſtem, under ſalutary regulations, would not only afford the negro a conſiderable proportion of freedom, but would be highly advantageous to the State; as, by parcelling out their immenſe waſte tracts of land into little farms, the low country, which has been impoveriſhed by the pernicious cultivation of tobacco, would become fertilized, and reſtored to its priſtine fecundity.

Let us ſuppoſe the preſent ſlaves of Virginia placed in ſuch a ſituation for their lives, and that all blacks, born after paſſing an act for this purpoſe, ſhould be free at twenty-five years of age.

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This would afford time not only to put theſe little farms in order, but it would reclaim the exhauſted land, and leave the proprietors in a better ſituation than they otherwiſe would have been in, from a ſyſtem which encourages indolence, promotes ignorance, tyranny, and every radical vice; but the blacks, by liberal conditions upon ſuch a plan, with induſtry, might be able to educate their children, and accumulate a ſmall property to encourage and ſupport their liberty and independence, and the State would have time to acquire white emigrants, if the blacks did not anſwer the purpoſes of cultivation, and the end of the civil polity of an enlightened government; to ſuppoſe which would be as uncharitable as the remarks of Mr. Jefferſon.

It will, doubtleſs, require a length of time to generalize marriages between the whites and blacks; but that would not prove a material diſadvantage to the State. There would always be ſome whites who would marry blacks for the ſake of property; and, no doubt, when prejudices are worn away, they would unite from more tender and delicate ſentiments.

A ju-

A judicious author of this country, who has written on the complexion and figure in the human ſpecies, has ſaid: "A nation which migrates to a different climate will, in time, be impreſſed with the characters of its new State: The dark colour of the natives of the Weſt India iſlands is well known to approach very near to a dark copper. The deſcendants of the Spaniards in South America are already become copper-coloured. The Portugueſe of Mitombo, in Sierra Leona, on the coaſt of Africa, have, by intermarrying with the natives, and by adopting their manners, become, in a few generations, perfectly aſſimilated in aſpect, figure, and complexion." And Lord Kaims, who cannot be ſuſpected of partiality on this ſubject, ſays of another Portugueſe ſettlement on the coaſt of Congo, "That the deſcendants of thoſe poliſhed Europeans have become, both in their perſons and in their manners, more like beaſts than like men. Theſe examples tend to ſtrengthen the inference from the changes that have happened in the Anglo-Americans; and they ſhew how eaſily climate would aſſimilate foreigners to natives,

tives, in the courſe of time, if they would adopt the ſame manners, and equally expoſe themſelves to its influence."

Whether the black of negroes reſides in the reticular membrane between the ſkin and ſcarf-ſkin, or in the ſcarf-ſkin itſelf —whether it proceeds from the colour of the blood, the colour of the bile, or from that of ſome other ſecretion, the difference is not fixed in nature, but is the mere effect of climate, which is proved by the daily teſtimony of the moſt enlightened philoſophers of the preſent age; who have for their ſupport the obſervations and remarks of travellers upon the effects of climate in every part of the globe.

Mr. Jefferſon ſays, it is fixed in nature; and aſks, "if the difference is of no real importance?" I anſwer, that it is of no real importance, when compared with the object of reſcuing ſome millions of miſerable human beings from the odious prejudices which have degraded a whole race of men to the rank of beaſts of burden, becauſe they had the misfortune not to have the tinge of *red and white*.

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Were a man, who, with all the ardour of a youthful paſſion, had juſt been gazing upon the fair boſom of a loved and beautiful miſtreſs, and afterwards marked the contraſt of that paradiſe of ſublunary bliſs, to the African or Indian hue, to exclaim in the terms which Mr. Jefferſon has uſed, he might be judged excuſable on account of the intoxication of his heated ſenſes—But when a grave philoſopher, who has paſſed the meridian of life, ſits down to meliorate, by his writings and opinions, the condition of the ſlaves of his country, whoſe fetters have fixed an obloquy upon the virtue and humanity of the ſouthern Americans, I confeſs it appears to me not a little inconſiſtent.

As to the whites being more elegantly formed, as aſſerted by Mr. Jefferſon, I muſt confeſs that it has never appeared ſo to me. On the contrary, I have often obſerved, in families which have been remarkable for feeding their blacks well, and treating them in other reſpects with humanity, that their negroes have been as finely formed as any whites I ever ſaw.—Indeed, my admiration has often been arreſted in examining their pro-

proportion, muſcular ſtrength, and athletic powers.

If they ſecrete leſs by the kidneys, and more by the glands of the ſkin, which gives them a ſtrong and diſagreeable odour, it is alſo certain that white men, inhabiting ſouthern climates, do the ſame, more than in northern latitudes: by which means an evaporation takes place from the whole ſurface of the body, which produces that degree of cold which is requiſite to counteract the heat of the climate. As there is always a flow of bile proportionate to the degree of heat, the perſpirable matter will be more or leſs ſaturated with that fluid, which, from an antiſeptic quality, produces that odour which is ſuppoſed to indicate an original difference; but which, in reality, may be diſcovered in a degree in all black haired people in all countries.

No doubt, too, much of that odour is owing to their difference of living from that of the whites: for it is certain, that thoſe negroes who are cleanly, and live in the manner of their maſters, have leſs of it.

However, there can be no doubt but that the

animal ſyſtem may be ſo materially affected by climate, as to require a length of time to reſtore it to its priſtine ſtate; and whether man was aboriginal to Aſia, or whether every continent has had its Adam, is of no conſequence to the argument:—it is certain we are eſſentially the ſame in ſhape and intellect.

"Comparing them by their faculties of memory, reaſon, and imagination, it appears to me," ſays Mr. Jefferſon, "that in memory they are equal to the whites, in reaſon much inferior, as I think one could ſcarcely be found capable of tracing and comprehending the inveſtigation of Euclid; and that in imagination they are dull, taſteleſs and anomalous. It would be unfair to follow them to Africa for this inveſtigation; we will conſider them here on the ſame ſtage of the whites, and where the facts are not apocryphal on which a judgment is to be formed."

Can any poſition be more puerile and inconſiſtent? "We will conſider them on the ſame ſtage of the whites, and then a compariſon is not apocryphal." Now I beg to know what can be more uncertain and falſe than eſtimating

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or comparing the intellect or talents of two deſcriptions of men;—one *enſlaved, degraded, and fettered in all their acts of volition, without a viſta through which the rays of light and ſcience could be ſhot to illumine their ignorant minds.* The other free, independent, and with the advantage of appropriating the reaſon and ſcience which have b en the reſult of the ſtudy and labours of the philoſophers and ſenſible men for centuries back. If there have been ſome ſolitary inſtances where negroes have had the advantage of education, they have ſhewn that they are in no degree inferior to whites, though they have always had in this country the very great diſadvantage of aſſociating only with their ignorant countrymen, which not only prevents that poliſh ſo eſſential to arreſt admiration, but which imperceptibly leads to ſervility from the prevalence of manners.

Mr. Jefferſon's own arguments invalidate themſelves. " Homer told us, he ſays, nearly 3000 years ſince,

" Jove fixed it certain, that whatever day
" Makes man a ſlave, takes half his worth away."

Now it is moſt certain that the negroes in Ame-

rica have not only been enſlaved, but that they have exiſted under the moſt inhuman and nefarious tyranny, particularly in the ſouthern States.

Baron de Tott, ſpeaking of the ignorance of the Turks, who are alſo ſlaves, but whites, ſaid "that it was with difficulty that he could make them comprehend how two triangles could be equal to one right one." But it is only neceſſary to prove the nullity of Mr. Jefferſon's arguments to copy his own reflection. He aſks, "if the world has produced more than two poets acknowledged to be ſuch by all nations, how many mathematicians, how many great inventors in arts and ſciences had Europe, north of the Alps, when the Romans croſſed thoſe mountains?" and then he ſays, "it was ſixteen centuries before a Newton could be formed." And after aſking theſe queſtions, he abſurdly expects that black poets and mathematicians are to ſpring up like muſhrooms.

However, a black in New England has compoſed an ephemeris, which I have ſeen, and which men, converſant in the ſcience of aſtro-

nomy declare exhibits marks of acute reaſon and genius.

To contend, however, that the world has produced but two poets, is rather the aſſertion of a pedant than a philoſopher; and to maintain that no perſons read Milton and Shakeſpear with delight but Engliſhmen is not ſtrictly juſt. For every man of taſte and judgment who underſtands the Engliſh language to perfection, muſt read them, and many other Engliſh poets with the moſt animated pleaſure—and if the Jeruſalem delivered, the Henriad, and the Luſiad, have only been generally read by the countrymen of their reſpective authors, it is not becauſe they have neither genius nor excellence, but becauſe it has been more the ſyſtem of education in Europe to ſtudy the claſſics than the modern languages, which has given a predominant preference among the literari in every country to the Greek and Latin poet.

" Religion has produced a Phillis Whately; but it could not produce a poet," is another of Mr. Jefferſon's dogmata. Phillis was brought from Africa to America, between ſeven and

eight years of age, and without any aſſiſtance from a ſchool education, and before ſhe was fifteen years old wrote many of her poems. This information is atteſted by her then maſter, John Wheatly, dated Boſton, November 14, 1772. I will tranſcribe part of her Poem on Imagination, and leave you to judge whether it is poetical or not. It will afford you an opportunity, if you have never met with it, of eſtimating her genius and Mr. Jefferſon's judgment; and I think, without any diſparagement to him, that, by compariſon, Phillis appears much the ſuperior. Indeed, I ſhould be glad to be informed what White upon this continent has written more beautiful lines.

" Imagination! who can ſing thy force?
Or who deſcribe the ſwiftneſs of thy courſe?
Soaring through air to find the bright abode,
Th' imperial palace of the thund'ring God,
We on thy pinions can ſurpaſs the wind,
And leave the rolling univerſe behind:
From ſtar to ſtar the mental optics rove,
Meaſure the ſkies, and range the realms above;
There in one view we graſp the mighty whole,
Or with new worlds amaze th' unbounded ſoul.
Though winter frowns, to fancy's raptured eyes
The fields may flouriſh, and gay ſcenes ariſe;

The

The frozen deeps may burſt their iron bands,
And bid their waters murmur o'er the ſands.
Fair Flora may reſume her fragrant reign,
And with her flow'ry riches deck the plain;
Sylvanus may diffuſe his honours round,
And all the foreſt may with leaves be crown'd:
Show'rs may deſcend, and dews their gems diſcloſe,
And nectar ſparkle on the blooming roſe."

Mr. Jefferſon has been equally ſevere upon Ignatius Sancho. But, as I have not the honour to be acquainted with Mr. Sancho's writings, I ſhall conclude that that criticiſm is equally marked with prejudice. His ſaying, "that Terence was a ſlave, but not black," is in contradiſtinction to the teſtimony of every other authority; who all agree, that he was not only an African, but a Numidian, who are all known to be black.

But, to complete his paradoxes, Mr. Jefferſon has remarked, "that the Indian, with no advantage of education, is eloquent and ingenious," without recollecting that the ſavage is free while the poor African is enſlaved; though he allows

that ſervitude deſtroys half the worth of the human ſoul.

But to do juſtice to his candour and heart, I will give you his concluſion upon this ſubject: "The whole commerce between maſter and ſlave is a perpetual exerciſe of the moſt boiſterous paſſions, the moſt unremitting deſpotiſm on one part, and degrading ſubmiſſions on the other. Our children ſee this, and learn to imitate it. The parent ſtorms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the ſame airs, gives a looſe to his worſt of paſſions; and thus nurſed, educated, and daily exerciſed in tyranny, cannot but be ſtamped with odious peculiarities."

After making ſeveral moral reflections upon the ſubject of ſlavery, he finiſhes with theſe emphatical words. "Indeed, I tremble for my country, when I reflect that GOD is juſt:—that his juſtice cannot ſleep for ever: that, conſidering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of ſituation, is among poſſible events: that it may become probable by ſupernatural interference!

rence! The ALMIGHTY has no attribute which can take ſide with us in ſuch a conteſt."

You ſee, my dear friend, how powerful is the effect of habit and prejudice; that with ideas and principles founded in reaſon and truth, ſufficient to demonſtrate that ſlavery deſtroys the energy of the human mind, and with a heart which does honour to Mr. Jefferſon as a man, his mind is ſo warped by education and the habit of thinking, that he has attempted to make it appear the African is a being between the human ſpecies and the oran-outang; and ridiculouſly ſuffered his imagination to be carried away with the idle tales of that animal's embracing the negroe women, in preference to the females of its own ſpecies.

GREAT GOD! how long is the world to be tantalized with ſuch paltry ſophiſtry and nonſenſe! My pity and indignation have been alternately excited ſince I have been writing this letter. But, I hope thoſe dazzling rays of philanthropy which gleam in the flattering account you have given me of the diſpoſition of your countrymen, will give a ſtab to the principles of

of domeſtic tyranny, and fix an odium upon thoſe leachers of human blood, as flagrant as they are contemptible. Farewell. In the libations of this night, and appropriate hours of love and ſocial pleaſure, the object of uſing my feeble powers in attempting to alleviate the opreſſions of the miſerable in every part of the world, ſhall not be forgotten.

I remain, moſt affectionately,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER X.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YOUR laſt favour gave me the moſt lively pleaſure; but, I fear, you have been too ſanguine in the expectation, that the degree of loſs to the revenue in conſequence of the increaſed number who have left off the uſe of ſugar, will compel your parliament to aboliſh the ſlave trade upon the principle of policy.

No doubt but the ſyſtem is impolitic under every conſideration; but when a government acts more upon principles of patronage, than upon a wiſe and liberal policy, little is to be expected from opinions ſo vitiated and controuled by bad habits of thinking.

Ignorant minds are always the moſt incorrigible, and the devaſtations which folly and contumely have produced in its perſeverance in error, ſhews, in the ſtrongeſt of all poſſible light, the

the advantage of philoſophy. While weak men dread what they call innovation, amendments will be very tardy; and until education with you is ameliorated, I expect your unnatural ſyſtem of ſlavery, chartered companies, &c. &c. will be continued. However, an æra will arrive when States who are more wiſe than your nation appears to be in the appropriation of uſeful truths, will eclipſe the brilliancy of your commerce, and then the ſpirit of a people renowned for their magnanimity will tear from the fair face of reaſon, the odious maſk which has ſo long obſcured her luſtre.

It requires no oracular faculties to ſee that that period is rapidly advancing; and it is to be preſumed that the moſt conceited and ſtubborn ſteward would take ſome precaution againſt the dangers of an impending hurricane.

Previous to your laſt requeſt, I had interſperſed in my different letters ſome account of the natural hiſtory of this country, and had referred you to Mr. Jefferſon for more full information; but as it is always with the greateſt pleaſure I write to you, I ſhall give you ſuch an account of

of it as the length of a letter and my knowledge of the ſubject will permit.

I am too proud to make any apology for being obliged to give you in many inſtances the popular names of our vegetables, &c. &c.; for, I think, it is high time that the Linnæan deſignation was angliciſed.

Linnæus had great merit as firſt nomenclator in the ſcience of natural hiſtory, and no doubt did the world a great and eſſential good by prefering the Latin to the Swediſh language for his purpoſe. But from the perfection which botany and natural hiſtory have attained, I think the object of ſimplifying, or rendering into Engliſh, the various terms in that ſcience, highly worthy the attention of ſome enlightened philoſopher.

True, the Latin has hitherto been the moſt general language in Europe among ſcientific men, and thusfar the infancy of the ſtudy has been rapidly matured by the happy adoption. But the Engliſh language bids fair to ſuperſede it; and when we take a view of the different parts of the globe that are ſettled by people who ſpeak Engliſh, and compare it with the perfection

fection which that language has arrived at, I think it ſeems probable in the courſe of time that it will become univerſal.

We have a variety of ſpontaneous kinds of graſs, for many of which we have no name. I have ſpoken of the cane and its properties in a former letter, which the farmer may conſider as a graſs, ſince it will anſwer every purpoſe of graſs to him. I have alſo mentioned our clover and rye-graſs. Beſides which, we have, of the graſs kind, the pea-vine, which in a ſmall degree reſembles your pea-vine. It has the ſame kind of tendril, and runs up the cane, ſhrubs, and rye-graſs, which frequently grows interſperſed with it. Its bloſſoms are of a reddiſh hue, and it produces a ſmall and imperfect pea. In very rich ſoil, it grows from three to five feet high; but in general it does not exceed eighteen inches or two feet, and is not of ſo luxuriant a growth as the vine of the cultivated pea, but has a much nearer reſemblance to graſs.

Our other principal ſorts of natural graſs are, the buffalo, orchard, ſpear, blue, and crab graſſes. The buffalo graſs is rather coarſe,

grows from nine to eighteen inches high, and is generally found moſt plentiful in a middling ſoil. It has a broad leaf, and ſeems unworthy of cultivation. The latter kinds generally ſpring up after the land has been cultivated, and from excellent paſtures; and are alſo capable of being made into hay, particularly the ſpear and blue graſs.

Every part of the country abounds in a variety of natural flowers. The crocus, and a profuſion of daiſies, appear on the approach of ſpring, which are ſucceeded by the daffodil, jonquil, hyacinth, tulip, and a multitude of other flowers, ſuch as heart's-eaſe, lilies, red and white, hollyhocks, pinks, golden rod, cowſlips, may-flowers-jeſſamine, columbine, honey-ſuckles, rock honey-ſuckles, tuberoſe, ranunculas, marſh-mallows, violets, roſes of different ſorts, &c. &c.

Of herbs, &c. we have of the wild ſort, marjoram, ſun-dew, ſage, thyme, Indian leaf, roſemary, angelica, fennel, lovage, mugwort, ox-eye, mother-wort, feverfew, cat's-mint, penny-royal, rue, mint, yarrow, burnet, nettle, ſanicle, rupture-wort, cudweed, white and black mai-

den-

den-hair, colewort, ground-pine, tooth-wort, ground-ivy, lung-wort, mountain-polly, winter-green, hore-hound, ladies mantle, celadine, jew's-ear, horſe-mint, liver-wort, water-creſſes, ſcurvy graſs, muſtard, hyſſop, tanſy, dock, aſmart, glaſs-wort, helleborc, wolf's-bane, ſpikenard, &c. &c. &c.

You will obſerve, that we have adopted names that are common in Europe, and preſume that it is the affinity between your plants of the above names, and ours, which have produced theſe denominations. How far they are applicable, requires a better botaniſt to determine than I profeſs to be; and to relate their different minutiæ, would be both tedious and unſatisfactory, as it is impoſſible to give a juſt idea of their comparative ſimilitary by a deſcription.

FARINACEOUS, LEGUMINOUS PLANTS, &c.

Indian corn	Zea mays
Wild oat	Zezania aquatica
Wild rye	
Indian millet	Holcus laxus
Wild pea	Dolichus
Panic	Panicum

There are many of this ſpecies.

Lupin

Lupine	Lupinus perennis
Jeruſalem artichoke	Helianthus tuberoſus
Cymlings	Cucurbita verrucoſa
Squaſhes	Cucurbita melopepo
Purſlain	Portulaca oleracea
Lettuce	Lactuca viroſa.

FIBROUS PLANTS, &c.

Wild hemp	Acnida cannabina
Wild flax	Linum Virginianum
Wild hop	Humulus cupulus.

ROOTS, &c.

Sarſaparilla	Sarſaparillæ
Indian phyſic	Spiræa trifoliata
Ipecacuanha	Phychotria emetica
Pleuriſy root	Aſclepias decumbens
Virginia ſnake root	Ariſtolochia ſerpentaria
Black ſnake root	Actæa racemoſa
Seneca rattleſnake root	Polygala ſenega
Valerian	Valeriana locuſta radiata
Ginſeng	Phanax quinquefolium
Caſſava	Jatropha urens
Granadillas	Paſſiflora incarnata.

FRUITS, &c.

Mulberry	Morus
Green-river plumb	
Barren, or red plumb	
Cherokee plumb	Prunus ſylveſtris fructu minori
Wild cherry	Prunus Virginiana
Wild crab-apple	Pyrus coronaria
Perſimmon	Dioſpyros Virginiana.

There are various kinds of grapes.

Scarlet ſtrawberries	Fragaria Virginiana
Wortleberries	Vaccinium uliginoſum [*Jefferſon.*
Wild gooſeberries	Ribes groſſularia
Wild currants	
Cranberries	Vaccinium oxycoccos
Black raſberries	Rubus occidentalis.

May-apple. This apple is produced from an annual plant which is among the firſt vegetables that come forward in the ſpring; it is about ten or twelve inches high, advancing rapidly to maturity, and the apple grows much in the manner of the potatoe ſeed, and is nearly of the ſame ſize. When ripe, it is of the colour of a pale orange.

orange. The pulp is of a ſucculent nature, without any ſeed, and its flavour very much like the pine apple. It is ripe early in June.

Acimene. This fruit grows upon a ſhrub, and is from four to five inches in length, and from one to one and a half diameter. The pulp is ſweet and tender. It ripens in July.

Peakimine. A ſpecies of plumb, nearly the ſize of the mogul plumb, but more delicious.

Papaw. This fruit grows upon a tree from twelve to twenty-ſix feet high. It is in ſhape more like a ſeed cucumber than any thing elſe. It is ripe about midſummer. Its pulp is yellow, and ſomewhat of the conſiſtence of an indifferent melon, and its flavour very much like a cuſtard, but it is too luſcious to be agreeable; though, when boiled green, it is good eating.

NUT TREES, &c.

Sealy bark hiccory — Juglans alba cortiæ ſquamoſo [*Jefferſon.*

Common hiccory — Juglans alba fructu minore rancido [*Clayton.*

There are a variety of other kinds of hiccory which have not been deſignated.

Black walnut	Juglans nigra
White walnut	Juglans alba
Chefnut	Fagus pumila
Hazle nut	Corylus avellana.

Befides the above, the Carolina ground-nut grows low down on the Miffiffippi, and the peccane in the Illinois, in the county of Cumberland, and every where near the mouth of the Ohio. It is about two-thirds of the fize of an Engliſh walnut, and the ſhell ſmooth and tender. Mr. Jefferſon has given it a deſignation which is equal in length to the name of a Spaniſh cavalier. He ſpecifies it as the juglans alba, foliolis lanceolatis, acuminatis, ſerratis, tomentoſis, fructu minore, ovato, compreſſo, vix inſculpto, dulci. putamine, tenerrimo.

Poke	Phytolacca decandra
Plane-tree	Platanus occidentalis
Lime-tree	Zilia Americana
Poplar	Liriodendron tulipifera
Black poplar	Populus nigra
Red flowering maple	Acer rubrum
Umbrella tree	Magnolia tripetala
Buck-eye	Æſculus

Aſpen

Aſpen	Populus tremula
Reed, or cane	Arundo phragmitis
Locuſt	Robinia pſeudo acacia
Honey locuſt	Gleditſia
Barberry	Berberis vulgaris
Dog-wood	Cornus florida
Snow-drop tree	Chionanthus Virginia
Holly	Ilex aquifolium
Swamp laurel	Magnolia acuminata
Portugal bay	Laurus indica
Catalpa	Bignonica catalpa
Wild pimento	Laurus benzion
Red bud	Cercis Canadenſis
Saſſafras	Laurus ſaſſafras
Common laurel of this country	Not claſſed
Cockſpur	Cratœgus coccinea
Red bay	Laurus borbonia
Dwarf roſe bay	Rhododendron maximum
Spindle tree	Euonymus Europæus
Evergreen ſpindle tree	Euonymus Americanus
Alder	Sambucus nigra
Candleberry myrtle	Myrica cerifera
Sumach	Rhus. Not claſſed
Cotton tree	Not claſſed

Satin-wood tree	Not claſſed
Coffee tree	Not claſſed
Dwarf laurel	Calmia latifoliæ
American aloe	Agave Virginica
Ivy	Hedera quinquefolia
Hemlock fir	Pinus Canadenſis
Papaw	Annona triloba
Trumpet honey-ſuckle	Lonicera ſemper virens
Upright honey-ſuckle	Azalea nudiflora
Juniper	Juniperus Virginica

Grows only in the ſouthern parts of the weſtern country.

Black oak	Quercus nigra
White oak	Quercus alba
Red oak	Quercus rubra
Willow oak	Quercus phellos
Cheſnut oak	Quercus prinus
Black-jack oak	Quercus aquatica [*Clayton*
Ground oak	Quercus pumila [*Ditto.*
Live oak	Quercus Virginiana [*Miller.*

* The live oak grows only low down on the Miſſiſſippi, on this ſide of the mountain.

Sugar

* The live oak grows in quantity ſufficient, between the Miſſiſſippi and the River St. Joſeph, as would be equal to build

Sugar tree	Acer ſaccharinum

Which is the common name throughout this country for the ſugar maple.

Beech	Fagus ſylvatica
White aſh	Fraxinus alba
Black aſh	Fraxinus nigra
Elm	Ulmus Americana
Slippery elm	Not claſſed
Sweet elm	Ulmus ſaccharina Americana
Button-wood tree	Not claſſed
Black birch	Betula nigra
White birch	Betula alba
Sweet gum	Liquidambar ſtyraciflua
Pitch pine	Pinus tæda

Grows only on the ſouthern branches of the Ohio, Weſt Florida, and the mountainous parts of the country.

White pine	Pinus ſtrobus

Grows only in the mountainous country.

build and ſupport a navy ſuperior to the maritime ſtrength of Europe combined together, and which is acknowledged to be the moſt laſting and beſt calculated for ſhips of war of any kind of timber hat h been uſed for that purpoſe.

Yellow pine Pinus Virginica

Grows alſo in the mountains.

Spruce pine Pinus foliis ſingularibus [*Clayton.*

Spruce pine grows moſtly upon the precipices of river banks, upon the ſides of high hills, and never in the champaign country.

Cypreſs Cypreſſus diſticha

White cedar Cypreſſus thyoides

The cypreſs and white cedar grow in abundance in the country contiguous to the gulf of Mexico, but in the country high up the rivers, very few of them are to be found.

The beſt ſoil produces little timber but the locuſt, cherry, walnut, buck-eye, ſugar-tree, elm, beech, aſh, ſatin-wood, and papaw. The middle rate land oaks, hiccory, dog-wood, ſome ſugar-trees, and beech. What we call indifferent land affords moſtly black and red oaks, ſome hiccory, gum, &c. and the more broken and hilly country (I mean the worſt land), black-jack oak, fir, &c.

There is a variety of ſhrubs in every part of the country, the principal of which are the myrtle and ſpice berry; and a number of different kinds of

of graſs, &c. that I am unable to deſcribe; for, indeed, they have not all obtained popular names, and I am too ignorant of botany, as I have confeſſed, to attempt to claſs them; which, perhaps, is the fineſt field now open to a man of genius, in the ſcience of botany, upon the face of the globe.

Buffon, Kalm, D'Abenton, Cateſby, and Pennant, have all touched upon the natural hiſtory of America. The firſt and laſt have confined themſelves chiefly to the deſcription of animals; and as they are juſtly admired for their talents, I ſhall confine myſelf merely to giving you a liſt of the wild animals which are common to the weſtern country, and refer you to their works for the natural hiſtory. Such errors as Buffon had been drawn into from prejudice, Mr. Jefferſon has ably confuted.

Animals	Where common.
Buffalo. Biſon	Between lat. 42 and 37
Mooſe elk. Elan orignal, palmated	To the north of lat. 43
Elk, round horned	Between lat. 40 and 36
	Caribou.

Animals.	Where common.
Caribou. Renne	To the north of lat. 43
Red deer. Crof	To the ſouth of lat. 40
Roe. Chevrecul	To the north of lat. 40
Fallow deer. Daim	To the north of lat. 42
Bear. Ours	Every part of this country
Wild cat. Chat ſauvage	Ditto
Wolf. Loup	Ditto
Glutton. Careajou	To the north of lat. 42
Lynx. Loup cervier	To the ſouth of lat. 40
Beaver. Caſtor	To the north of lat. 37
Otter. Loutre	Between lat. 45 and 36
Red fox. Renard	To the north of lat. 39
Grey fox. Iſatis	To the ſouth of lat. 40
Hedge-hog. Herriſon	To the north of lat. 40
Martin. Marte	To the north of lat. 38
Weaſel. Belitte	To the ſouth of the lakes
Water rat. Rat d'eau	Between lat. 42 and 36
Monax. Marmotte	
Flying ſquirrel. Pa-	
latouche	To the ſouth of lat. 40
Fox ſquirrel	Between lat. 39 and 36
Black ſquirrel	Bettween lat. 39 and 42
Red ſquirrel	To the ſouth of lat. 40

Great

Animals.	Where common.
Great grey ſquirrel	To the north of lat. 38
Little grey ſquirrel	Between lat. 38 and 32
Ground ſquirrel	Between lat. 40 and 36
Mink	To the ſouth of lat. 44
Shrew mouſe. Muſaraigne	To the ſouth of lat. 43
Roccoon. Raton	To the ſouth of the lakes as far as lat. 37
Opoſſum. Sarique	To the ſouth of lat. 41
Viſon. Fouine	
Seunk. Mouffette. Conepate	Between lat. 43 and 36
Congar	
Rabbit	Every part of this country, but no where ſo numerous as on the other ſide of the mountain----(N. B. There is not a wild hare in all America.)
Mouffette ſquaſh	Between lat. 43 and 36
Mouffette chinche	
Panther	To the north of lat. 33
Wood chuck	Between lat. 39 and 44
Porcupine	To the north of lat. 42
Dormouſe	To the north of lat. 40.

There are beſides moles, mice, and bats, ſeveral

veral other animals in the extreme parts of the country. I have omitted ſaying any thing reſpecting them, as I could not do it with ſufficient accuracy; but you will find, in Mr. Jefferſon's liſt of the aboriginal animals of America, an account of the whole of them.

I have already taken notice of the great bones which have been found in this country; but as I was not minute as to the eſtimate of their ſize, I ſhall juſt remark, that it was the opinion of your celebrated anatomiſt, the late Dr. Hunter, from an examination of the tuſks, that the mammouth was an animal entirely different from the elephant; and Mr. Jefferſon, who ſeems to have examined the ſkeleton with curious attention, ſays, "the bones beſpeak an animal of five or ſix times the cubic volume of the elephant, as Monſ. de Buffon has admitted." And I have been informed by a gentleman who attended the lectures of Dr. Cline, in London, that this ingenious anatomiſt uſed to produce one of the tuſks of the mammouth, when he was lecturing, and declared that the animal muſt have been carnivorous.

In my account of the birds of this country, I ſhall moſtly give you the Linnæan deſignation,

in

in preference to Cateſby's, though Cateſby's deſignation is moſt general.

Popular Names.	Linnæan Designation.
Bald eagle	Falco leucocephalus
Turkey buzzard	Vultur aura
Sparrow hawk	Falco ſparverius
Forked tail hawk	Falco furcatus
Pigeon hawk	Falco columbarius
Fiſhing hawk	Accipiter piſcatorius
Field martin	
Little owl	Strix aſio
Tyrant martin or king bird	Laninus tyrannus
Perroquet	Pſittaccus
Red headed wood pecker	Picus erythrocephalus
Large red creſted ditto	Picus pileatus
White bill ditto	Picus principalis
Gold winged ditto	Picus auratus
Red bellied ditto	Picus Carolinus
Small ſpotted ditto	Picus pubeſcens
Yellow bellied ditto	Picus varius
Hairy ditto	Picus villoſus

Popular Names.	Linnæan Designation.
Blue jay	Corvus criſtalus
Crow black bird	Gracula quiſcula
Baltimore bird	Oriolis Baltimore
Baſtard Baltimore ditto	Oriolis ſpurius
Carolina cuckoo	Cuculus Americanus
Field lark	
Red winged blackbird	Sturnus niger alis ſupernerubentibus [*Cateſby.*
Robin red breaſt	Turdus migratorius
Red thruſh	Turdus rufus
Mocking bird	Turdus minor cinerco albus non maculatus *Cateſby.*
Little thruſh	Turdus minimus [*Cateſby.*
Purple finch	Fringilla purpurea
Lettuce bird	Carduelis Americanus
Cowpen bird	Paſer. fuſcus. [*Cateſby.*
Little ſparrow	Paſerculus [*Cateſby.*
Towhe bird	Fringilla erythrophthalma
Blue linnet	Tanagra cyanea

Popular Names.	Linnæan Designation.
Painted finch	Emberiza biris
Rice bird	Emberiza oryzivora
Snow bird	Emberiza hyemalis
Red bird	Loxia Cardinalis
Blue groſs beak	Loxia Cærulea
Creſted fly catcher	Muſcicapa erinita
Summer red bird	Muſcicapa rubra
Red ſtart	Muſcicapa ruticilla
Cat bird	Muſcicipa Carolinienſis
Black cap fly catcher	Muſcicapa nigreſcens
Little brown fly catcher	Muſcicapa fuſca
Red eyed fly catcher	Muſcicapa oculis rubris
Blue bird	Motacilla ſialis
Wren	Motacilla regulus
Yellow creſted chatterer	Motacilla trochilus
Whip poor Will	Caprimulgus minor Americanus [*Cateſby.*
Great bat, or goatſucker	Caprimuſgus [*Cateſby.*
Houſe martin	Hirundo purperea
American ſwallow	Hirundo pelaſgia

Popular Names.	Linnæan Designation.
Yellow titmouſe	Parus Carolinenſis [*Cateſby.*
Yellow throated creeper	Parus Americanus gutture luteo [*Cateſby.*
Hooded titmouſe	Parus cucullo nigro
Yellow rump	Parus Virginianus
Finch creeper	Parus Americanus
Creſted titmouſe	Parus bicolar
Nut-thatch	Sitta capite nigro [*Cateſby.*
Small nut-thatch	Sitta capite fuſco [*Ditto.*
Humming bird	Trochilus colubris
Hanging bird	
Pine creeper	Certhia pinus
King fiſher	Alcedo alcyon
Kildee	Charadrius vociferus
Soree	Rallus Virginianus
Ground dove	Columba paſſerina
Wild pigeon	Columba migratoria
Turtle dove	Columba Carolinienſis
Lark	Allauda Alpeſtris

Popular Names.	Linnæan Designation.
Night Hawk	
Cat owl	
Screech owl	Strix Americana (*Booth*)
Crow	Corvus
Crane	Ardea Canadenſis
Whet hawk	
Great grey eagle	
Feather head turkey buzzard	
Large pouch pelican	
Raven	
Houſe ſwallow	Hirundo ruſtica [*Jefferſon.*
Ground ſwallow	Hirundo riparira [*Ditto.*
Cormorant	
Squatting ſnipe	
Whiſtling plover	
Woodcock, or mud hen	
Yellow winged ſnipe	
Red bird with black wings	
Wagtail	

Popular Names.	Linnæan Designation.
Wild gooſe	Anas canadenſis
Buffel head duck	Anas bucephala
Small brown duck	Anas ruſtica
White face teal	Anas diſcros
Blue winged teal	
Green winged teal	
Summer duck	Anas ſponſa
Blue winged ſhovler	Anas Americanes chriſtaluſelegans [*Cateſby.*
Round creſted duck	Mergus cucullatus
Pied bill dopchick	Colymbus podiceps
Large creſted heron	Ardea Herodias
Creſted bittern	Ardea violacea
Blue heron	Ardea cærulea
Small bittern	Ardia vireſcens
Small white heron	Ardea æquinoctialis
Indian hen	Ardea ſtellaris Americana [*Cateſby.*
Wood pelican	Tantalus loculator
White curlew	Tantalus alber
Brown curlew	Tantalus fuſcus

We

We have beſides, the duck and mallard, widgeon, canvaſs back, wood duck, black duck, ſprig tail, white head duck, black head duck, ballcoot, water pheaſant, mow bird, blue peter, ſwan, loon, mountain pheaſant, or grouſe, which I mentioned in a former letter, quail, wild turkey, &c. &c.

I have now, my dear friend, complied with your wiſh as far as it is in my power; a country ſo new and extenſive requires more time, and more room, than a letter will admit of to give you a complete idea of its natural hiſtory; but, I flatter myſelf, it will afford you a general idea upon the ſubject; and when the unfolding covers of a new creation, juſt burſting from the womb of nature, ſhall draw men of ſcience to trace and inveſtigate the various phænomena which this country exhibits, I have no doubt but the world will receive much pleaſure and inſtruction.

The moment I have been able to collect an accurate account of the preſent numbers of the different tribes of Indians, which have hitherto

been conſiderably exaggerated, I will write to you upon the ſubject. In the mean time I ſhall remain,

Your true and affectionate friend.

LET-

LETTER XI.

MY DEAR FRIEND, KENTUCKY.

YOU will, no doubt, have heard of the defeat of our army, with the particulars, before this will reach you. It is surprising, that the experience of upwards of thirty years warfare with the Indians, should not have taught us before now, that our success or loss in these *rencontres* was to be expected alone from the abilities or talents of the Commanding Officer.

From the time of the defeat of General Braddock to the present period, the Americans have been successful or unsuccessful in these expeditions, in the exact proportion to the knowledge which our Generals have had of Indian dexterity and stratagem.

No man is more willing to allow to General St. Clair the merit of being an accomplished gentleman, a brave and judicious officer, than

I am. But I cannot help lamenting, at the ſame time, that men are not employed upon theſe occaſions (when there are ſo many in the United States), who have from their infancy been accuſtomed to ſuch perils, and practiſed in the neceſſary vigilance, to ward off the effects of that ſingular proweſs of thoſe heroic people.

There is an error ſomewhere. I am afraid that our General confided too much in the comparative ſtrength and diſcipline of his army. It would have been better if he had recollected an expreſſion of the late King of Pruſſia: "However well-founded any good opinion of ourſelves may be, ſecurity in war is always dangerous; and rather than be negligent, it is better to take ſuperfluous precaution." Our army certainly was taken by ſurpriſe. They had not time to form when the enemy commenced their attack, which proves the juſtneſs of that great ſoldier's reflection*.

Every

* Since this letter was written I have been able to aſcertain more particularly the object of the expedition conducted by General St. Clair, and the cauſe of his being defeated.

By the treaty, in which Great Britain acknowledged the independence

Every man who engages in the perilous vocation of a ſoldier ought to recollect beforehand,

dependence of the United States, it was ſtipulated and agreed to by Great Britain, that the fortreſſes of Niagara and Detroit ſhould be delivered up to the United States as immediately as it could be done with convenience. Whether it proceeded from the repreſentations made by the government of Canada to the miniſters of Great Britain, or not, I cannot preſume to determine; but it is certain thoſe plans are properly conſidered of more importance than was at firſt imagined by the Britiſh Court; and it is an indubitable truth, the moment they are poſſeſſed by the Americans, that inſtant the Engliſh fur trade of Canada will be reduced more than one half of what it is at preſent.

This declaration, as it comes from an American, may be conſidered as impolitic; but I have thrown it out purpoſely to ſhew how little the faith of treaties are to be depended upon, when they are found to claſh with the important intereſts of the contracting parties,—and as I conſider every ſpecies of policy, which has not integrity for its baſis, mean and contemptible.

As the United States had waited more than ſeven years in expectation that the Britiſh Government would fulfil this engagement, and finding it was not then convenient for them to abandon thoſe forts, they determined to eſtabliſh a garriſon at the mouth of the Miami, of the lake which was to have been ſupported by a chain of communication with Pittſburg, and for the acquiſition of this purpoſe was the object of this expedition.

Fort Waſhington, at the mouth of the Muſkingum, and Fort Jefferſon, between the head waters of the Sciota and St. Mary's river, which empties into Lake Erie, a ſhort diſtance from Sanduſky, had been previouſly eſtabliſhed; and the next object

hand, the ſacrifices he will be obliged to make of pleaſurable indulgence, and, in many inſtances, of

was to eſtabliſh a third, ſouth eaſt of Sanduſky, upon thoſe ridges of hills where the waters of the lake, and thoſe of the Ohio, take different directions.

Had this plan been effected, though the Indians might at times have harraſſed thoſe poſts, ſtill the purpoſe for which they would have been created muſt have anſwered; as it is impoſſible for them to carry on their attacks regularly, or for any length of time, by reaſon of their deſultory manner of living; and thus, by our becoming permanently fixed upon the lake, we ſhould at once have given a decided blow to your trade in Canada; for it was the intention of the federal government, not to permit any perſon to trade within the limits of the United States in that quarter, without a written privilege for that purpoſe, ſigned by the Preſident of Congreſs.

The army of General St. Clair, which was to have atchieved this arduous end, amounted to about 1400 men, great part of which were militia; and moſt of the others, inconceivable as it may appear, were recruited from the ſea-port towns upon the Atlantic; and of courſe were compoſed of men who were totally unacquainted with the Indian manner of fighting;—indeed a large proportion of them were Europeans.

General St. Clair had advanced between twenty and thirty miles in front of Fort Jefferſon in his courſe toward Lake Erie, when about ſixty of the militia deſerted with an intention to return to their reſpective homes, after whom he diſpatched 300 of his men, they conſiſting of the only old troops he had in his army; and it was in the abſence of this detachment, that his army was attacked, juſt at the break of day; after the troops, moſt imprudently, had left the parade at which they had been

ſome

of his conſtitution. But when a ſervice of danger calls him to the defence of his country, or to

ſome time before it was light, according to the cuſtom in Indian war, though his out poſts had been attacked inceſſantly during the whole night, and ſeveral of his centinels killed. The Indians, finding the army was thin of their guard, ruſhed upon them with ſuch impetuoſity, as to prevent their being able to form, or to act with any vigour or preciſion.

This grand object has not been abandoned by the federal government, and for the purpoſe of carrying it into execution, by meaſures more wiſe, and means more certain, than had been purſued hitherto, 3000 federal troops, with a legion of 1200 horſe and foot, are to be kept in continual pay; and while the different garriſons are to over-awe the Indians, the legion is to ſcour the country round, ſo as to ſecure the ſettlements on the weſt ſide of the Ohio from their attacks, and thus by progreſſive and permanent eſtabliſhments ward off the dangers of irregular and predatory warfare.

This ſyſtem has already produced a very important effect:— the more intelligent Indian chiefs are ſo perfectly ſenſible, that it is now in vain for them to contend againſt a palladium, which is daily invigorated by the current of emigration, which, like a perennial plant, ſhews no ſigns of decay, that they have promiſed to puniſh thoſe audacious fugitives, who murdered our Commiſſioners that were going to their nations for the purpoſe of offering them peace; and have alſo agreed to a ceſſation of hoſtilities while the preliminaries are ſettling; ſo that I have no heſitation in declaring it as my opinion, that, if the preſent meaſures are purſued with wiſdom and vigour, there will be a ſpeedy end to war and maſſacre in that quarter, and the whole weſtern country muſt then enjoy that repoſe, which has ſo often and ſo fatally been diſturbed by the incendiaries both of Canada and Louiſiana.

avenge

avenge the inſults which tyranny or barbariſm have offered, it becomes ignominious not cheerfully to forego every gratification which is incompatible with heroiſm. It is equally ignominious to put any conſideration in competition with the certainty of ſucceſs.

I know that it has been much the caſe with us to relax in diſcipline for fear of haraſſing our men. In Indian wars it is neceſſary to obſerve this rule, which infallibly leads to victory when the combat otherwiſe is upon an equal footing—Never be ſurpriſed. To prevent which, it is only neceſſary to move with ſtrong and active flanks, to keep powerful and vigilant guards, and to have your whole army under arms every morning at leaſt an hour before break of day; which will effectually prevent a ſurpriſe, as the Indians never attack when their enemy is in force during the night. Move in compact order, and though you may be haraſſed in a degree, yet with an army of two thouſand men well appointed, it would be no difficult matter to paſs through the whole weſtern country.

I hope I have not appeared too ſtrenuous in endeavour-

endeavouring to wipe away the ſtain, which our recent defeat has brought upon the valour of my countrymen. There has appeared a languor in the execution of our meaſures reſpecting Indian affairs, which has not only brought an *obloquy* upon the wiſdom of our councils, but has ſubjected us to loſſes that are as baneful to our population, as they are affecting to our ſympathy.

Many of us have cauſe to mourn the loſs of ſome friend or dear relation. Among the ſlain was a youth of the moſt promiſing hopes and ſplendid talents—talents which might have proved ornamental to his country, and uſeful to mankind.

I know you will excuſe me for appropriating to the death of my young friend, with a ſlight alteration, thoſe beautiful lines in the Iliad with which Homer deſcribes the death of Euphorbus :

The

"As the young Olive, in ſome Silvan ſcene,
Crown'd by freſh fountains with eternal green,
Lifts the gay head, in ſnowy flow'rets fair,
And plays and dances to the gentle air.
When lo! a whirlwind from high heav'n invades
The tender plant, and withers all its ſhades;
It lies uprooted from its genial bed,

A lovely

A lovely ruin now defac'd and dead.
Thus young, thus beautiful, " brave Marſhal" lay,
While the fierce " Indian" tore his life away."

The expedition conducted under the command of General Scott terminated with ſucceſs. Indeed, from the firſt ſettlement of Kentucky not one of our expeditions have failed. The watchful Indians, who are always near us, and ſcarcely ever to be diſcovered but in force, obſerve the motions of our army, and readily determine from our vigilance whether an attack will prove hazardous to them or not.

I ſhall begin my enumeration with the ſouthern Indians, and proceed with thoſe of the greateſt proximity; taking care to comprehend in the ſchedule the various tribes that we have any diſtinct knowledge of to the northward of the chain of lakes, which bounds our empire to the north, and thoſe to the weſt of the Miſſiſſippi, and ſouth of the Miſouri.

TRIBES.	WHERE THEY RESIDE.	No.
Cherokees	In the country between the Great Bend of the Tenaſee and the ridges	

of

TRIBES.	WHERE THEY RESIDE.	No.
	of hills (which are called the Allegany mountains), the weſtern limits of Georgia, and the eaſtern branches of the Mobile	2500
Chacktaws	Between the ſaid Great Bend, the Miſſiſſippi, and Natchez	6000
Upper Creeks	Between the head branches of the river Apalachies, Eaſt Florida, the Cherokee nation, and the Miſſiſſippi	2500
Lower Creeks	Between the Upper Creeks and the Gulf of Mexico	1000
Natchez	A little to the eaſt of the Natchez	100
Alibamons	Between the Natchez and New Orleans	400
Chekaſaws	Between the ſouthern limits of Cumberland,	

the

Tribes.	Where they reside.	No.
	the Chacktaw nation, and the head waters of the Mobile	500
Lezars	Between the mouth of the Ohio and Wabaſh	300
Piankiſhas, Vermilions, and Maſcontins	Between the Wabaſh and Illinois	600
Illinois	Near Cahokia	260
Kaſkaſkias	Near Kaſkaſkia	250
Pianrias	Upon the Illinois river	400
Shakies	Near Fort Oniatonon upon the Wabaſh	170
Upper Piankiſhas	Near Fort Oniatonon upon the Wabaſh	300
Onitatonons	Near Fort Oniatonon upon the Wabaſh	260
Miamis	Near Fort St. Joſeph	200
Twigtwees	Upon the Great Miami river near Fort Miami	200
Wyandots	Between Fort St. Joſeph and Detroit	200
Cohunewagas	Near Sanduſky	200

Mingoes

TRIBES.	WHERE THEY RESIDE.	No.
Mingoes	On a ſouthern branch of the Sciota	50
Mohiccons	Between the Sciota and Muſkingum	40
Shawnees	On the head branches of the Sciota (reduced by the late action to leſs than)	250
Delawares	In the country between Lake Erie and the head branches of the Muſkingum, who have alſo ſuffered in the late different actions, and it is ſuppoſed they are reduced from 600 to	450
Delawares, or Linnelinopies	At different villages upon the north branch of the Suſquehanna	400
Aughquagahs	Upon an eaſtern branch of the Suſquehanna	150
Nanticocs	Between Owegy and the moſt eaſtern branch of the Suſquehanna	80

Mohiccons

Tribes.	Where they reside	No.
Mohiccons	Between Chagnet and Owegy, upon a branch of the Suſquehanna	70
Conoies	Between Utſanango and Chagnet, to the eaſtward of the moſt eaſternmoſt branch of the Suſquehanna	40
Saponies	Upon a north branch of the Suſquehanna	30
Munſies	At Diahago, upon the north branch of the Suſquehanna	120
Senecas	Upon the waters of the Ohio, Lake Erie, Lake Ontario, and Suſquehanna	550
Cayugas	Upon the Cayuga, and near the north branch of the Suſquehanna	180
Onondagoes	Near Onondago	200
Oneidas	On the eaſt ſide of Oneida, and head branches of the Suſquehanna	250

Tribes.	Where they reside.	No.
Tuſcaroras	Between the Oneidas and Onandagoes	170
Mohocks	Upon the weſtern branch of Mohock river	140
(The laſt-mentioned ſix tribes conſtitute what are known by the name of the Six Nations.)		
Orondocs	Near the three rivers	100
Abenakies	Near the three rivers	150
Little Algonkins	Near the three rivers	100
Pouteotamies	Between St. Joſeph's and Detroit	270
Ottawas	Near Detroit	500
Chippawas	On Saguinam bay of lake Huron	200
Ottawas (a different tribe)	On Saguinam bay of lake Huron	150
Chippawas (ſeveral tribes of)	Near Michillimackinac, fort St. Mary's, on lake Superior, and upon the ſouthern ſhores of that lake	5500
Shakies	Pauns bay, on lake Michigan	400

TRIBES.	WHERE THEY RESIDE?	No.
Mynomamies	Near Pauns bay, on lake Michigan	300
Ouiſconſings	Ouiſconſing river	300
Kickapous	Upon the ſouthern head branches of the Miſſiſſippi, and the waters of lake Michigan	200
Otogamies	Between the lake of the Wood and Miſſiſſippi	300
Maſcoutens	On lake Michigan, and between that and the Miſſiſſippi	400
Miſcothins	Between lake Michigan and the Miſſiſſippi	340
Outimacs	Between lake Michigan and lake St. Clare	200
Muſquakies	Upon the ſouthern waters of lake Michigan	200
Sioux	On the eaſtern head branches of the Miſſiſſippi, and the iſlands of lake Superior	500

Ottagaumies

Tribes.	Where they reside.	No.
Ottagaumies	On the head waters of the Miſſiſſippi	300
Winnibagoes	On the head waters of the Miſſiſſippi	200
Killiſtinoes	On lake Superior	250
Naudoweſies	Between Michigan and lake Superior	500
Oſevegatchies	Near Swagatchy, on the river St. Lawrence	100
Connaſedagoes	Near Montreal	90
Cohunnewagoes	Near Montreal	150
Michmacs	On the river St. Lawrence	500
Ameliſtis	On the river St. Lawrence	400
Chalas	On the river St. Lawrence	100
Nipiſſins	Near the head waters of the Ottawas rivers	300
Algonquins	Towards the head waters of the Ottawas river	250
Round-heads	On riviere aux Teres boules, or Round-head river	2000
Meſſaſagues	Between lake Superior and lake Huron	1500
Kris	Upon lake Chriſtineaux	1200

Tribes.	Where they reside.	No.
Aſſinaboes	Lake Aſſinaboes	1200
Barbus, or Blancs	Between lake Aſſinaboes and the lake of the Wood	1400
Sioux of the Meadows	On the head and weſtern branches of the Miſſiſſippi	2500
Sioux of the Woods	On the head and weſtern branches of the Miſſiſſippi	4000
Sioux	Between the head waters of the Miſſiſſippi and Miſouri	3000
Ajoues	North of the Padoucas	1000
White Panis	South-eaſt of the Miſouri	1500
Speckled Panis	South of the Miſouri	1200
Padoucas	South of the Miſouri	500
Grandeſeaux	South of the Miſouri	800
Canſes	South of the Miſouri	1000
Oſages	South of the Miſouri	400
Miſouris	On the Miſouri	1500
Arkanzas	On the river Arkanzas	1000

There

There are ſeveral other tribes, known by the name of Caouitas, Linways, Webings, Ouſaſoys Les Puans, Folle Avoine, Mineamis, &c. &c. But the different tribes have been ſo confounded one with another, that it is impoſſible to collect any diſtinct information reſpecting their ſituation or numbers; which I apprehend has proceeded from the imperfect knowledge travellers have had of the weſt of the Miſſiſſippi, and to the north of lake Michigan and lake Superior; and which has precluded the poſſibility of gaining any accurate intelligence from them. However the above liſt has been corrected from the accounts of Croghan, Boquet, Carver, Hutchins, and Dodge, and by the comparative teſtimony of the beſt informed men I have been able to meet with; and whoſe knowledge upon this ſubject, though they have not written, I ſhould prefer to either of the above authorities, who were obliged to take the greateſt part of what they have related, from hearſay, or proceed upon conjecture.

There are ſeveral vagrant tribes, called Chia-

kaneſſou, Onanakina, Machecous, and Souikilas, from the Cherokees, Chacktaws, and Creeks; but I ſhould ſuppoſe, theſe included, that my account of thoſe tribes is tolerably exact.

By this liſt, which I preſume will appear as accurate as the ſubject will admit of, the aggregate numbers of Indians will be found leſs than 60,000 who inhabit the country from the gulf of Mexico, on both ſides of the Miſſiſſippi, to the gulf of St. Lawrence, and as far weſt a ſt h country has been explored, that is, to the head waters of the Miſſiſſippi, and from thence to the Miſouri (I do not mean the head of it), and between that river and Santa Fe.

I have been able to learn very little information reſpecting the Indians between Santa Fe and the gulf of Mexico, and ſtill leſs of thoſe who inhabit the country between the river St. Joſeph's and California. However we are in no way affected by them at preſent; and it is not very likely that we ever ſhall: for, it is to be preſumed, that the federal government, in the extenſion of its empire, will take ſuch precautions

tions as muſt prevent the horrors of ſuch ſanguinary warfare and maſſacre, as have hitherto marked the progreſs of its growth.

Certainly it is time that decided meaſures were taken; if poſſible, to civilize them; and if not, to confine them to particular diſtricts; that is, by the vigour of our meaſures, to ſhew them that we are not to be trifled with; and whenever a tract of country is to be ſettled, let the demarkation be obvious, and the terms of ſettlement definitive; and by affording protection to the pacific, and chaſtiſing the licentious, it may be expected in time, that ſome amelioration will take place in their ſavage and ſanguinary diſpoſitions.

You will obſerve that the moſt numerous tribes are the greateſt diſtance from us; and it is very certain, that in proportion to their diſtance from the whites, they are unacquainted with the uſe of fire-arms. All the nations north of lake Superior, and thoſe beyond the Miſſiſſippi, as well as thoſe on the Miſouri, uſe only bows and arrows; ſo that when you take a view of their ſcattered

ſituation, the various cuſtoms and ſuperſtitions which it is neceſſary to reconcile, in order to produce perſeverance and unity of action, and what a ſmall proportion of them have the apparatus, or underſtand the uſe of muſquetry, or poſſeſs reſources ſufficient to enable them to carry on laſting hoſtilities againſt the power of our increaſing numbers, it muſt be obvious, that even our defeats will haſten their ruin.

Though we (or rather the federal troops) have been defeated ſeveral times, yet we ſhall ſoon eſtabliſh a permanent ſecurity againſt ſavage invaſions and maſſacre; for, though we have not acted entirely like Hercules, who deſtroyed the ſerpents while an infant in his cradle, ſtill, I preſume, we ſhall do it in our approach to maturity.

The French, by conciliating the manners of the ſavages, and by their diffuſing a more general knowledge among them of the uſe of fire-arms, firſt rendered them formidable to the whites. The animoſity continued to exiſt until the commencement of the late war, *when that*

very policy was practiſed by the Engliſh, which they had formerly ſo ſeverely reprobated in the French.

In the various ſkirmiſhes and actions which have been fought between us, they have acquired a moſt wonderful dexterity and heroic intrepidity, but, in theſe acquiſitions, they probably have laid the foundation of their own *extinction*; for our defeats but add to our ſtrength; and when you recollect their comparative numbers with ours, and the comparative fecundity of our women, I think the circumſtance does not appear problematical.

However, that is not our wiſh. We would gladly teach them the bleſſings of peace; and ſo far did the Aſſembly of Virginia carry this diſpoſition, in the year 1784, that, the more effectually to accelerate ſo deſirable an end, they took it into conſideration to paſs an act offering bounties to ſuch men and women as would intermarry with the Indians. But as the animoſities which then exiſted between them and the back ſettlers had ariſen to ſuch a height, it was thought moſt

moſt adviſeable to poſtpone it until there ſhould be a ſtable peace, and till the whites and they were reconciled; but that never will be the caſe until we are in poſſeſſion of Niagara and Detroit. Farewell.

A TABLE

APPENDIX.

THE

DISCOVERY, SETTLEMENT,

AND

PRESENT STATE

OF

KENTUCKY:

AND

AN ESSAY

TOWARDS THE

TOPOGRAPHY AND NATURAL HISTORY

OF THAT IMPORTANT COUNTRY:

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

I. The ADVENTURES of Col. DANIEL BOON, one of the firſt Settlers, comprehending every Important Occurrence in the Political Hiſtory of that Province.

II. The MINUTES of the PIANKASHAW Council, held at POST ST. VINCENTS, April 15, 1784.

III. An ACCOUNT of the INDIAN NATIONS inhabiting within the Limits of the Thirteen United States, their Manners and Cuſtoms, and Reflections on their Origin.

BY JOHN FILSON.

PUBLISHED IN THE YEAR 1784.

ADVERTISEMENT.

WE the Subſcribers, inhabitants of Kentucky, and well acquainted with the country from its firſt ſettlement; at the requeſt of the author of this book, have carefully reviſed it, and recommend it to the Public as an exceeding good performance, containing as accurate a deſcription of our country as we think can poſſibly be given: much preferable to any in our knowledge extant; and think it will be of great utility to the Public. Witneſs our hands this 12th day of May, Anno Domini 1784.

DANIEL BOON,

LEVI TODD,

JAMES HARROD.

PREFACE.

THE generality of thoſe geographers, who have attempted a map, or deſcription of America, ſeem either to have had no knowledge of Kentucky or to have neglected it, although a place of infinite importance: and the reſt have proceeded ſo erroneouſly, that they have left the world as much in darkneſs as before.

When I viſited Kentucky, I found it ſo far to exceed my expectations, although great, that I concluded it was a pity, that the world had not adequate information of it. I conceived that a proper deſcription of it was an object highly intereſting to the United States; and therefore, incredible as it may appear to ſome, I muſt declare, that this performance is not publiſhed from lucrative motives, but ſolely to inform the world of the happy climate, and plentiful ſoil of this favoured region. And I imagine the reader will believe me the more eaſily when I inform him, that I am not an inhabitant of Kentucky, but having been there ſome time, by my acquaintance in

it, am sufficiently able to publish the truth, and from principle, have cautiously endeavoured to avoid every species of falsehood. The consciousness of this encourages me to hope for the public candour, where errors may possibly be found. The three gentlemen honouring this work with their recommendation, Col. Boon, Col. Todd, and Col. Harrod, were among the first settlers, and perfectly well acquainted with the country. To them I acknowledge myself much indebted for their friendly assistance in this work, which they cheerfully contributed, with an disinterested view of being serviceable to the public. My thanks are more especially due to Col. Boon, who was earlier acquainted with the subject of this performance than any other now living, as appears by the account of his adventures, which I esteemed curious and interesting, and therefore have published them from his own mouth. Much advantage may possibly arise to the possessor of this book, as those who wish to travel in Kentuky will undoubtedly find it a Complete Guide. To such I affirm, that there is nothing mentioned or described but what they will find true. Conscious that it would be of general utility, I have omitted nothing, and been exceeding particular in every part. That it may have the desired effect, is the sincere wish of

JOHN FILSON.

THE DISCOVERY, PURCHASE, AND SETTLEMENT OF *KENTUCKY.*

THE firſt whiteman we have certain accounts of, who diſcovered this province, was one James M'Bride, who, in company with ſome others, in in the year 1754, paſſing down the Ohio in canoes, landed at the mouth of Kentucky river, and there marked a tree with the firſt letters of his name, and the date, which remain to this day. Theſe men reconnoitred the country, and returned home with the pleaſing news of their diſ-

covery of the beſt tract of land in North America, and probably in the world. From this period it remained concealed till about the year 1767, when one John Finley, and ſome others, trading with the Indians, fortunately travelled over the fertile region, now called Kentucky, then but known to the Indians, by the name of the Dark and Bloody Ground, and ſometimes the Middle Ground. This country greatly engaged Mr. Finley's attention. Some time after, diſputes ariſing between the Indians and traders, he was obliged to decamp; and returned to his place of reſidence in North Carolina, where he communicated his diſcovery to Col. Daniel Boon, and a few more, who conceiving it to be an intereſting object, agreed in the year 1769 to undertake a journey in order to explore it. After a long fatiguing march, over a mountainous wilderneſs, in a weſtward direction, they at length arrived upon its borders; and from the top of an eminence, with joy and wonder, deſcried the beautiful landſcape of Kentucky. Here they encamped, and ſome went to hunt proviſions, which were readily procured, there being plenty of game,

game, while Col. Boon and John Finley made a tour through the country, which they found far exceeding their expectations, and returning to camp, informed their companions of their diſcoveries: but in ſpite of this promiſing beginning, this company, meeting with nothing but hardſhips and adverſity, grew exceedingly diſheartened, and was plundered, diſperſed, and killed by the Indians, except Col. Boon, who continued an inhabitant of the wilderneſs until the year 1771, when he returned home.

About this time Kentucky had drawn the attention of ſeveral gentlemen. Doctor Walker of Virginia, with a number more, made a tour weſtward for diſcoveries, endeavouring to find the Ohio river; and afterwards he and General Lewis, at Fort Stanwix, purchaſed from the Five Nations of Indians the lands laying on the north ſide of Kentucky. Col. Donaldſon, of Virginia, being employed by the State to run a line from ſix miles above the Long Iſland, on Holſton, to the mouth of the great Kenhaway, and finding thereby that an extenſive tract of excellent country would be cut off to the Indians, was ſolicited, by

the inhabitants of Clinch and Holſton, to purchaſe the lands lying on the north ſide of Kentucky river from the Five Nations. This purchaſe he completed for five hundred pounds, ſpecie. It was then agreed, to fix a boundary line, running from the Long Iſland on Holſton to the head of Kentucky river: thence down the ſame to the mouth, thence up the Ohio, to the mouth of Great Kenhaway; but this valuable purchaſe the State refuſed to confirm.

Richard Henderſon, of North-Carolina, being informed of this country by Col. Boon, he, and ſome other gentlemen held a treaty with the Cherokee Indians at Wataga, in March 1775, and then purchaſed from them the lands lying on the ſouth ſide of Kentucky river, for goods, at valuable rates, to the amount of ſix thouſand pounds, ſpecie.

Soon after this purchaſe, the State of Virginia took the alarm, agreed to pay the money Col. Donaldſon had contracted for, and then diſputed Mr. Henderſon's right of purchaſe, as a private gentlemen of another ſtate, in behalf of himſelf: However for his eminent ſervices to this country,

try, and for having been inſtrumental in making ſo valuable an acquiſition to Virginia, that ſtate was pleaſed to reward him with a tract of land, at the mouth of Green River, to the amount of two hundred thouſand acres; and the ſtate of North-Carolina gave him the like quantity in Powel's Valley. This region was formerly claimed by various tribes of Indians; whoſe title, if they had any, originated in ſuch a manner, as to render it doubtful which ought to poſſeſs it: Hence this fertile ſpot became an object of contention, a theatre of war, from which it was properly denominated the Bloody Grounds. Their contentions not being likely to decide the right to any particular tribe, as ſoon as Mr. Henderſon and his friends propoſed to purchaſe, the Indians agreed to ſell; and notwithſtanding the valuable conſideration they received, have continued ever ſince troubleſome neighbours to the new ſettlers.

SITUATION and BOUNDARIES.

KENTUCKY is ſituated, in its central part, near the latitude of 38° north, and 85° weſt longi-

 tude,

tude, and lying within the fifth climate, its longeſt day is 14 hours 40 minutes. It is bounded on the north by great Sandy-creek; by the Ohio on the N. W. by North-Carolina on the ſouth; and by the Cumberland mountain on the eaſt, being upwards of 250 miles in length, and two hundred in breadth; and is at preſent divided into three counties, Lincoln, Fayette and Jefferſon; of which Fayette and Jefferſon are bounded by the Ohio, and the river Kentucky ſeparates Fayette on its north ſide from the other two. There are at preſent eight towns laid off, and building, and more are propoſed.

Louiſville, at the Falls of Ohio, and Beardstown, are in Jefferſon county; Harrodſburg, Danville, and Boons-burrow, in Lincoln county; Lexington, Lees-town, and Greenville, in Fayette county; the two laſt being on Kentucky river. At theſe and many other places, on this and other rivers, inſpecting-houſes are eſtabliſhed for Tobacco, which may be cultivated to great advantage, although not altogether the ſtaple commodity of the country.

RIVERS.

RIVERS.

THE beautiful river Ohio, bounds Kentucky in its whole length, being a mile and ſometimes leſs in breadth, and is ſufficient to carry boats of great burthen. Its general courſe is ſouth 60 degrees weſt; and in its courſe it receives numbers of large and ſmall rivers, which pay tribute to its glory. The only diſadvantage this fine river has, is a rapid, one mile and half long, and one mile and a quarter broad, called the Falls of Ohio. In this place the river runs over a rocky bottom, and the deſcent is ſo gradual, that the fall does not probably in the whole exceed twenty feet. In ſome places we may obſerve it to fall a few feet. When the ſtream is low, empty boats only can paſs and repaſs this rapid; their lading muſt be tranſported by land; but when high, boats of any burthen may paſs in ſafety. Excepting this place, there is not a finer river in the world for navigation by boats. Beſides this, Kentucky is watered by eight ſmaller rivers, and many large and ſmall creeks.

Licking River heading in the mountains with Cumber-

Cumberland River, and the North Branch of Kentucky runs in a N. W. direction for upwards of a hundred miles, collecting its ſilver ſtreams from many branches, and is about one hundred yards broad at its mouth.

Red River* heads and interlocks with the main branch of Licking, and flows in a S. W. courſe into Kentucky River, being about ſixty miles long, and ſixty yards wide at its mouth.

The Kentucky River riſes, with three heads, from a mountainous part of the country. Its northern branch interlocks with Cumberland; runs half way in a weſtern direction, and the other half N. weſterly. It is amazingly crooked upwards of two hundred miles in length, and about one hundred and fifty yards broad.

Elkhorn is a ſmall river which empties itſelf into Kentucky in a N. W. by W. courſe; is about fifty miles long, and fifty yards broad at the mouth.

Dick's River joins the Kentucky in a N. Weſt direction; is about forty-five miles long, and forty-five yards wide at its mouth. This river curiouſ-

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* This river is a principal branch of the Kentucky.

ly heads and interlocks its branches with Salt River, Green River, and the waters of Rock-caſtle River.—Salt River riſes at four different places near each other. The windings of this river are curious, rolling its ſtreams round a ſpacious tract of fine land, and uniting almoſt fifteen miles before they approach the Ohio, and twenty miles below the Falls. It is amazingly crooked, runs a weſtern courſe near ninety miles.

Green River interlocking with the heads of Dick's River, as mentioned above, is alſo amazingly crooked, keeps a weſtern courſe for upwards of one hundred and fifty miles, and is about eighty yards wide at its mouth, which is about two hundred and twenty miles below the Falls.

Cumberland River, interlocks with the northern branch of Kentucky, as aforeſaid, and rolling round the other arms of Kentucky among the mountains, in a ſouthern courſe for one hundred miles; then in a ſouth weſtern courſe for above one hundred miles; then in a ſouthern and S. weſtern courſe for about two hundred and fifty more, finds the Ohio, four hundred and thirteen miles below the Falls. At the ſettlements

ments it is two hundred yards broad; and at its mouth three hundred, having paſſed through North Carolina in about half its courſe.

The Great Kenhaway, or New River, riſes in North Carolina, runs a northern, and N. W. courſe for upwards of four hundred miles, and finds the Ohio four hundred miles above the Falls. It is about five hundred yards wide at its mouth. Theſe two rivers are juſt mentioned, being beyond our limits. They run contrary courſes, are exceeding large, and it is worth notice, that Clinch, Holſtein, Nolachucky, and French-Broad rivers, take their riſe between theſe two, or rather weſtward of New River, ſome of them riſing and interlocking with it; and when they meet, form what is called the Tenaſee River, which runs a weſtern courſe, and finds the Ohio twelve miles below Cumberland River. It is very large, and has ſpacious tracts of fine land.

Theſe rivers are navigable for boats almoſt to their ſources, without rapids, for the greateſt part of the year. This country is generally level, and abounding with limeſtone, which uſually lies about ſix feet deep, except in hollows, where ſtreams

ſtreams run, where we find the rock in the bottom of the channel.

The ſprings and ſtreams leſſen in June, and continue low, hindering navigation, until November, when the autumnal rains ſoon prepare the rivers for boats, and repleniſh the whole country with water; but although the ſtreams decreaſe, yet there is always ſufficient for domeſtic uſes. There are many fine ſprings, that never fail; every farmer has a good one at leaſt; and excellent wells may eaſily be dug.

NATURE of the SOIL.

THE country, in ſome parts, is nearly level; in others not ſo much ſo; in others again hilly, but moderately, and in ſuch places there is moſt water. The levels are not like a carpet, but interſperſed with ſmall riſings and declivities, which form a beautiful proſpect. A great part of the ſoil is amazingly fertile; ſome not ſo good, and ſome poor. The inhabitants diſtinguiſh its quality by firſt, ſecond, and third rate lands; and

and ſcarcely any ſuch thing as a marſh or ſwamp is to be found. There is a ridge, where Kentucky riſes, nearly of the ſize of a mountain.

All the land below the Great Kenhaway until we come near the waters of Licking Riveris, broken, hilly, and generally poor; except in ſome valleys, and on Little and Great Sandy creeks, where there is ſome firſt rate land, but moſtly ſecond and third rate. It is ſaid, that near this water is found a pure ſalt rock. Upon the north branch of Licking, we find a great body of firſt rate land. This ſtream runs nearly parallel to the Ohio for a conſiderable diſtance, and is about ſeven miles from the mouth of Limeſtone Creek, where is a fine harbour for boats coming down the Ohio, and now a common landing. It is ſixty-five miles from Lexington, to which there is a large waggon road. The main branch of Licking, is about twenty-two miles from Limeſtone. On this ſtream we find ſome firſt, but moſtly ſecond and third rate lands, and towards its head ſomething hilly. There we find the Blue Licks, two fine ſalt ſprings, where great plenty of ſalt may be made. Round theſe licks,

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the ſoil is poor for ſome diſtance, being much impregnated with ſalt.

The ſouthern branch of Licking, and all its other arms, ſpread through a great body of firſt, and ſome ſecond rate land, where there is abundance of cane, and ſome ſalt licks, and ſprings. On theſe ſeveral branches of Licking, are good mill-ſeats, and navigation to the Ohio, from the fork down to its mouth. The land is hilly, and generally poor, yet along the ſtreams and in valleys we find ſome excellent land.

The Elkhorn lands are much eſteemed, being ſituated in a bend of Kentucky River, of great extent, in which this little river, or rather large creek, riſes. Here we find moſtly firſt rate land, and near the Kentucky River ſecond and third rate. This great tract is beautifully ſituated, covered with cane, wild rye, and clover and many of the ſtreams afford fine mill ſeats.

The lands below the mouth of Elkhorn, up Eagle Creek, and towards the Ohio, are hilly and poor, except thoſe contained in a great bend of the Ohio oppoſite Great Miami, cut off by the Big-bone and Bank-lick creeks, interlocking,

ing, and running ſeparate courſes. Here we find a great deal of good land, but ſomething hilly.

On Kentucky River we find many fertile valleys, or bottoms along the river, eſpecially towards its riſe. There is good land alſo on Red River, but towards the heads of this, and Kentucky the ſoil is broken; but even here, we find in valleys, and along ſtreams a great deal of fruitful land. Generally the ſoil within a mile or two of Kentucky River is of the third and fourth rates; from about that diſtance, as we leave it on either ſid; we approach good lands. The country through which it winds its courſe, for the moſt part, may be conſidered as level to its banks, or rather precipices; from the brow of which, we behold the river, three and ſometimes four hundred feet deep, like a great canal. For a more particular account of this, we refer the reader to where we treat of the curioſities of Kentucky.

Dick's River runs through a great body of firſt rate land, abounding every where with cane, and affords many excellent mill ſeats. Many mills are already built on this ſtream, and will

ſeaſons.

have a plentiful ſupply of water in the dryeſt ſeaſons. The banks of this river, near its mouth, are ſimilar to the banks of Kentucky. The ſeveral ſtreams and branches of Salt River afford excellent mill ſeats. Theſe roll themſelves through a great tract of excellent land, but the country from the junction of theſe waters, and ſome miles above towards the Ohio, which may be about twenty-five miles, is level and poor, and has abundance of ponds. For a conſiderable diſtance from the head of this river, the land is of the firſt quality, well ſituated, and abounds with fine cane. Upon this and Dick's River, the inhabitants are chiefly ſettled, it being the ſafeſt part of the country from the incurſions of the Indians.

Green River affords excellent mill ſeats, and a conſtant ſtream. This is allowed to be the beſt watered part of Kentucky. On its banks we find many fine bottoms, ſome firſt rate, but moſtly ſecond and third rate lands; and at ſome diſtance, many knobs, ridges, and broken poor land. Below a creek, called Sinking Creek, on this river, within fifty miles of Ohio, towards

Salt River, a great territory begins, called Green River Barrons, extending to the Ohio. It has no timber, and little water, but affords excellent paſturage for cattle. On ſome parts of this river, we find abundance of cane, ſome ſalt licks, and ſulphureous and bituminous ſprings. South of Green River in the lands reſerved for the continental, and ſtate troops of Virginia, an exceeding valuable lead mine has lately been diſcovered. Iron ore is found on Rough Creek, a ſtream running into this river. That part of Cumberland River which is in the Kentucky country, traverſe a hilly poor land, though in ſome parts we find good ſoil along its ſides. The other rivers I mentioned (viz. Great Kenhaway and Tenaſee are not in the Kentucky country, and therefore do not come properly within my plan.

The reader by caſting his eye upon the map, and viewing round the heads of Licking, from the Ohio, and round the heads of Kentucky, Dick's River, and down Green River to the Ohio, may view, in that great compaſs of above one hundred miles ſquare, the moſt extraordinary country upon which the ſun ever ſhone.

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The Ohio River, the great reſervoir of all the numerous rivers that flow into it from both ſides, has many fine valleys along its ſides; and we obſerve that oppoſite to each of them there is a hill; theſe hills and bottoms changing ſides alternately. It only remains under this head to inform the reader that there is a great body of firſt rate land near the Falls, or Rapids, called Bare-graſs; and it will be ſufficient juſt to mention that the country on the N. W. ſide of the Ohio, is allowed by all travellers to be a moſt fertile, level country, and well watered.

AIR AND CLIMATE.

THIS country is more temperate and healthy than the other ſettled parts of America. In Summer it wants the ſandy heats which Virginia and Carolina experience, and receives a fine air from its rivers. In Winter, which at moſt only laſts three months, commonly two, and is but ſeldom ſevere, the people are ſafe in bad houſes; and the beaſts have a good ſupply without fodder.

The Winter begins about Chriſtmas, and ends about the firſt of March, at fartheſt does not exceed the middle of that month. Snow ſeldom falls deep or lies long. The weſt winds often bring ſtorms, and the eaſt winds clear the ſky; but there is no ſteady rule of weather in that reſpect, as in the northern ſtates. The weſt winds are ſometimes cold and nitrous. The Ohio running in that direction, and there being mountains on that quarter, the weſterly winds by ſweeping along their tops, in the cold regions of the air, and over a long tract of frozen water, collect cold in their courſe, and convey it over the Kentucky country; but the weather is not ſo intenſely ſevere as theſe winds bring with them in Pennſylvania. The air and ſeaſons depend very much on the winds, as to heat and cold, dryneſs and moiſture.

SOIL AND PRODUCE.

THE ſoil of Kentucky is of a looſe, deep black mould, without ſand, in the firſt rate lands about

about two or three feet deep, and exceeding luxurious in all its productions. In ſome places the mould inclines to brown. In ſome the wood, as the natural conſequence of too rich a ſoil, is of little value, appearing like dead timber and large ſtumps in a field lately cleared. Theſe parts are not conſiderable. The country in general may be conſidered as well timbered, producing large trees of many kinds, and to be exceeded by no country in variety. Thoſe which are peculiar to Kentucky are the ſugar-tree, which grows in all parts in great plenty, and furniſhes every family with plenty of excellent ſugar. The honey-locuſt is curiouſly ſurrounded with large thorny ſpikes bearing broad and long pods in form of peas, has a ſweet taſte, and makes excellent beer.

The coffee-tree greatly reſembles the black oak, grows large, and alſo bears a pod, in which is encloſed coffee. The papwa-tree does not grow to a great ſize, is a ſoft wood, bears a fine fruit, much like a cucumber in ſhape and ſize, and taſtes ſweet. The cucumber-tree is ſmall and ſoft, with remarkable leaves, bears a fruit much reſembling that from which it is named.

Black mulberry-trees are in abundance. The wild cherry-tree is here frequent, of large ſize, and ſupplies the inhabitants with boards for all their buildings. Here alſo is the buck-eye, an exceeding ſoft wood, bearing a remarkable black fruit, and ſome other kinds of trees not common elſewhere. Here is great plenty of fine cane, on which the cattle feed, and grow fat. This plant in general grows from three to twelve feet high, of a hard ſubſtance, with joints at eight or ten inches diſtance along the ſtalk, from which proceed leaves reſembling thoſe of the willow. There are many cane brakes ſo thick and tall that it is difficult to paſs through them. Where no cane grows there is abundance of wild-rye, clover, and buffalo-graſs, covering vaſt tracts of country, and affording excellent food for cattle. The fields are covered with abundance of wild herbage not common to other countries. The Shawaneſe ſallad, wild lettuce, and pepper-graſs, and many more, as yet unknown to the inhabitants, but which, no doubt, have excellent virtues. Here are ſeen the fineſt crown-imperial in the world, the cardinal flower, ſo much extolled

tolled for its ſcarlet colour; and all the year, excepting the Winter months, the plains and valleys are adorned with variety of flowers of the moſt admirable beauty. Here is alſo found the tulip-bearing laurel-tree, or magnolia, which has an exquiſite ſmell, and continues to bloſſom and ſeed for ſeveral months together.

This country is richeſt on the higher lands, exceeding the fineſt low grounds in the ſettled parts of the continent. When cultivated it produces in common fifty and ſixty buſhels per acre; and I have heard it affirmed by credible perſons, that above one hundred buſhels of good corn were produced from an acre in one ſeaſon. The firſt rate land is too rich for wheat till it has been reduced by four or five years cultivation.

Col. Harrod, a gentleman of veracity in Kentucky, has lately experienced the production of ſmall grain, and affirms, that he had thirty-five buſhels of wheat, and fifty buſhels of rye per acre.

I think, in common, the land will produce about thirty buſhels of wheat and rye, upon a moderate computation, per acre; and this is the

general opinion of the inhabitants. We may ſuppoſe that barley and oats will increaſe abundantly; as yet they have not been ſufficiently tried. The ſoil is very favourable to flax and hemp, turnips, potatoes, and cotton, which grow in abundance; and the ſecond, third, and fourth rate lands are as proper for ſmall grain. Theſe accounts of ſuch amazing fertility may, to ſome, appear incredible, but are certainly true. Every huſbandman may have a good garden, or meadow, without water or manure, where he pleaſes. The ſoil, which is not of a thirſty nature, is commonly well ſupplied with plentiful ſhowers.

Iron ore and lead are found in abundance, but we do not hear of any ſilver or gold mine as yet diſcovered.

The weſtern waters produce plenty of fiſh and fowl. The fiſh, common to the waters of the Ohio, are the buffalo-fiſh, of a large ſize, and the cat-fiſh, ſometimes exceeding one hundred weight. Trout have been taken in Kentucky weighing thirty weight. The mullet, rock, perch, gar-fiſh, and eel, are here in plenty. Suckers, ſun-fiſh, and other hook-fiſh, are abundant; but

no

no ſhad, or herrings. We may ſuppoſe with a degree of certainty, that there are large ſubterraneous aqueducts ſtored with fiſh, from whence fine ſprings ariſe in many parts, producing fine hook-fiſh in variety. On theſe waters, and eſpecially on the Ohio, the geeſe and ducks are amazingly numerous.

The land fowls are turkeys, which are very frequent, pheaſants and partridges *. The parroquet, a bird every way reſembling a parrot, but much ſmaller; the ivory-bill woodcock, of a whitiſh colour, with a white plume, flies ſcreaming exceeding ſharp. It is aſſerted, that the bill of this bird is pure ivory, a circumſtance very ſingular in the plumy tribe. The great owl reſembles its ſpecies in other parts, but is remarkably different in its vociferation, ſometimes making a ſtrange, ſurpriſing noiſe, like a man in the moſt extreme danger and difficulty.

Serpents are not numerous, and are ſuch as are to be found in other parts of the continent, except the bull, the horned, and the mockaſon

* What is called a partridge by moſt people in America is a quail, and what is called a pheaſant is a ſpecies of grouſe.

ſnakes.

ſnakes. Swamps are rare, and conſequently frogs and other reptiles, common to ſuch places. There are no ſwarms of bees, except ſuch as have been introduced by the preſent inhabitants.

QUADRUPEDS.

AMONG the native animals are the urus, or zorax *, deſcribed by Ceſar, which we call a buffalo, much reſembling a large bull, of a great ſize, with a large head, thick, ſhort, crooked horns, and broader in his forepart than behind. Upon his ſhoulder is a large lump of fleſh, covered with a thick boſs of long wool and curly hair, of a dark brown colour. They do not riſe from the ground as our cattle, but ſpring up at once upon their feet; are of a broad make, and clumſy appearance, with ſhort legs, but run faſt, and turn not aſide for any thing when chaſed, except a ſtanding tree. They weigh from five to ten hundred weight, are excellent meat, ſupplying the inhabitants in many parts with beef, and

* Biſon.

their

their hides make good leather. I have heard a hunter aſſert, he ſaw above one thouſand buffaloes at the Blue Licks at once; ſo numerous were they before the firſt ſettlers had wantonly ſported away their lives. There ſtill remains a great number in the exterior parts of the ſettlement. They feed upon cane and graſs, as other cattle, and are innocent harmleſs creatures.

There are ſtill to be found many deer, elks, and bears, within the ſettlement, and many more on the borders of it. There are alſo panthers, wild cats, and wolves.

The waters have plenty of beavers, otters, minks, and muſk-rats: nor are the animals common to other parts wanting, ſuch as foxes, rabbits, ſquirrels, racoons, ground-hogs, pole-cats, and opoſſums. Moſt of the ſpecies of the domeſtic quadrupeds have been introduced ſince the ſettlement, ſuch as horſes, cows, ſheep and hogs, which are prodigiouſly multiplied, ſuffered to run in the woods without a keeper, and only brought home when wanted.

INHA-

INHABITANTS.

AN accurate account is kept of all the male inhabitants above the age of ſixteen, who are rated towards the expences of the government by the name of tithables; from which, by allowing that thoſe ſo enrolled amount to a fourth part of the whole inhabitants, we may conclude that Kentucky contains, at preſent, upwards of thirty thouſand ſouls *: ſo amazingly rapid has been the ſettlement in a few years. Numbers are daily arriving, and multitudes expected this Fall; which gives a well grounded expectation that the country will be exceedingly populous in a ſhort time. The inhabitants, at preſent, have not extraordinary good houſes, as uſual in a newly ſettled country.

They are, in general, polite, humane, hoſpitable, and very complaiſant. Being collected from different parts of the continent, they have a

* This eſtimate, the reader will recollect, was made in 1784.

diverſity

diverſity of manners, cuſtoms, and religions, which may in time perhaps be modified to one uniform. As yet united to the State of Virginia, they are governed by her wholeſome laws, which are virtuouſly executed, and with excellent decorum. Schools for education are formed, and a college is appointed by act of Aſſembly of Virginia, to be founded under the conduct of truſtees in Kentucky, and endowed with lands for its uſe. An excellent library is likewiſe beſtowed upon this ſeminary, by the Rev. John Todd, of Virginia.

The Anabaptiſts were the firſt that promoted public worſhip in Kentucky; and the Preſbyterians have formed three large congregations near Harrod's ſtation, and have engaged the Rev. David Rice, of Virginia, to be their paſtor. At Lexington, 35 miles from theſe, they have formed another large congregation, and invited the Rev. Mr. Rankin, of Virginia, to undertake that charge among them. At preſent there are no other religious ſocieties formed, although ſeveral other ſects have numerous adherents. But from theſe early movements it is hoped that Kentucky will

will eminently ſhine in learning and piety, which will fulfil the wiſh of every virtuous citizen.

CURIOSITIES.

AMONGST the natural curioſities of this country, the winding banks, or rather precipices of Kentucky, and Dick's Rivers, deſerve the firſt place. The aſtoniſhed eye there beholds almoſt every where three or four hundred feet of a ſolid perpendicular lime-ſtone rock; in ſome parts a fine white marble, either curiouſly arched, pillared, or blocked up into fine building ſtones, Theſe precipices, as was obſerved before, are like the ſides of a deep trench, or canal; the land above being level, except where creeks ſet in, and crowned with fine groves of red cedar. It is only at particular places that this river can be croſſed, one of which is worthy of admiration; a great road large enough for waggons made by the buffalo, ſloping with an eaſy deſcent from the top to the bottom of a very large ſteep hill, at or near the river above Lees-Town.

Caves

Caves are found in this country amazingly large; in ſome of which you may travel ſeveral miles under a fine limeſtone rock, ſupported by curious arches and pillars: in moſt of them runs a ſtream of water.

Near the head of Salt River a ſubterranean lake or large pond has lately been diſcovered. Col. Bowman ſays, that he and a companion travelled in one four hours till he luckily came to the mouth again. The ſame gentleman mentions another which operates like an air furnace, and contains much ſulphur. An adventurer in any of theſe will have a perfect idea of primæval darkneſs.

There appear to be great natural ſtores of ſulphur and ſalt in this country. A ſpring at Boonſburrow conſtantly emits ſulphureous particles, and near the ſame place is a ſalt ſpring. There is another ſulphureous ſpring upon Four Mile Creek, a third upon Green River, and many others in different places, abounding with that uſeful mineral.

There are three ſprings or ponds of bitumen near Green River, which do not form a ſtream, but

but diſgorge themſelves into a common reſervoir, and when uſed in lamps anſwer all the purpoſes of the fineſt oil.

There are different places abounding with copperas, eaſily procured, and in its preſent impure ſtate ſufficient for the uſe of the inhabitants: and when refined, equal to any in the world.

There is an allum bank on the ſouth ſide of Cumberland River, ſituated at the bottom of a cliff of rocks projecting over it. In its preſent ſtate it has the appearance and poſſeſſes the virtues of that mineral, and when purified is a beautiful allum.

Many fine ſalt ſprings conſtantly emit water, which, being manufactured, affords great quantities of fine ſalt. At preſent there is but one, called Bullet's Lick, improved, and this affords ſalt ſufficient for all Kentucky, and exports ſome to the Illinois. Drinnons-lick, the Bigbone, and the Blue-licks, ſend forth ſtreams of ſalt water. The Nob-lick, and many others, do not produce water, but conſiſt of clay mixed with ſalt particles: To theſe the cattle repair, and reduce high hills rather to valleys than plains. The amazing

amazing herds of Buffalo which reſort thither, by their ſize and number, fill the traveller with amazement and terror, eſpecially when he beholds the prodigious roads they have made from all quarters, as if leading to ſome populous city; the vaſt ſpace of land around theſe ſprings deſolated as if by a ravaging enemy, and hills reduced to plains; for the land near thoſe ſprings are chiefly hilly. Theſe are truly curioſities, and the eye can ſcarcely be ſatisfied with admiring them.

A medicinal ſpring is found near the Great-bone Lick, which has perfectly cured the itch by once bathing; and experience in time may diſcover in it other virtues. There is another of like nature near Drinnon's Lick.

Near Lexington are to be ſeen curious ſepulchres, full of human ſkeletons, which are thus fabricated. Firſt on the ground are laid large broad ſtones; on theſe were placed the bodies, ſeparated from each other by broad ſtones, covered with others, which ſerve as a baſis for the next arrangement of bodies. In this order they are built, without mortar, growing ſtill narrower

to the height of a man. This method of burying appears to be totally different from that now practiſed by the Indians. At a ſalt ſpring near Ohio river, very large bones are found, far ſurpaſſing the ſize of any ſpecies of animals now in America. The head appears to have been about three feet long, the ribs ſeven, and the thigh bones about four; one of which is repoſited in the library in Philadelphia, and ſaid to weigh ſeventy-eight pounds. The tuſks are above a foot in length, the grinders about five inches ſquare, and eight inches long. Theſe bones have equally excited the amazement of the ignorant, and attracted the attention of the philoſopher. Specimens of them have been ſent both to France and England, where they have been examined with the greateſt diligence, and found upon compariſon to be remains of the ſame ſpecies of animals that produced thoſe other foſſil bones which have been diſcovered in Tartary, Chili, and ſeveral other places, both of the old and new continent. What animal this is, and by what means its ruins are found in regions ſo widely different, and where none ſuch exiſts at preſent, is a queſtion

tion of more difficult deciſion. The ignorant and ſuperſtitious Tartars attribute them to a creature, whom they call Maimon, who, they ſay, uſually reſides at the bottom of the rivers, and of whom they relate many marvellous ſtories; but as this is an aſſertion totally diveſted of proof, and even of probability, it has juſtly been rejected by the learned; and on the other hand it is certain, that no ſuch amphibious quadruped exiſts in our American waters. The bones themſelves bear a great reſemblance to thoſe of the elephant. There is no other terreſtrial animal now known large enough to produce them. The tuſks with which they are equally furniſhed, equally produce true ivory. Theſe external reſemblances have generally made ſuperficial obſervers conclude, that they could belong to no other than that prince of quadrupeds; and when they firſt drew the attention of the world, philoſophers ſeem to have ſubſcribed to the ſame opinion.—But if ſo, whence is it that the whole ſpecies has diſappeared from America? An animal ſo laborious and ſo docile, that the induſtry of the Peruvians, which reduced to ſervitude

and ſubjected to education ſpecies ſo vaſtly inferior in thoſe qualities, as the Llama and the Paca, could never have overlooked the elephant, if he had been to be found in their country. Whence is it that theſe bones are found in climates where the elephant, a native of the torrid zone, cannot even ſubſiſt in his wild ſtate, and in a ſtate of ſervitude will not propagate? Theſe are difficulties ſufficient to ſtagger credulity itſelf; and at length produced the enquiries of Dr. Hunter. That celebrated anatomiſt, having procured ſpecimens from the Ohio, examined them with that accuracy for which he is ſo much diſtinguiſhed. He diſcovered a conſiderable difference between the ſhape and ſtructure of the bones, and thoſe of the elephant. He obſerved from the form of the teeth, that they muſt have belonged to a carnivorous animal; whereas the habits of the elephant are foreign to ſuch ſuſtenance, and his jaws totally unprovided with the teeth neceſſary for its uſe: and from the whole he concluded, to the ſatisfaction of naturaliſts, that theſe bones belonged to a quadruped now unknown, and whoſe race is probably extinct, unleſs

unleſs it may be found in the extenſive continent of New Holland, whoſe receſſes have not yet been pervaded by the curioſity or avidity of civilized man. Can then ſo great a link have periſhed from the chain of nature? Happy we that it has. How formidable an enemy to the human ſpecies, an animal as large as the elephant, the tyrant of the foreſts, perhaps the devourer of man! Nations, ſuch as the Indians, muſt have been in perpetual alarm. The animoſities among the various tribes muſt have been ſuſpended till the common enemy, who threatened the very exiſtence of all, ſhould be extirpated. To this circumſtance we are probably indebted for a fact, which is perhaps ſingular in its kind, the extinction of a whole race of animals from the ſyſtem of nature.

RIGHTS OF LAND.

THE proprietors of the Kentucky lands obtain their patents from Virginia, and their rights are of three kinds, viz. Thoſe which ariſe from

military ſervice, from ſettlement and pre-emption, or from warrants from the treaſury. The military rights are held by officers, or their repreſentatives, as a reward for ſervices done in one of the two laſt wars. The ſettlement and pre-emption rights ariſe from occupation. Every man who, before March 1780, had remained in the country one year, or raiſed a crop of corn, was allowed to have a ſettlement of four hundred acres, and a pre emption adjoining it of one thouſand acres. Every man who had only built a cabin, or made any improvement by himſelf or others, was entitled to a pre-emption of one thouſand acres where ſuch improvement was made.

In March 1780, the ſettlement and pre-emption rights ceaſed, and treaſury warrants were afterwards iſſued, authorizing their poſſeſſor to locate the quantity of land mentioned in them, wherever it could be found vacant in Virginia.

The mode of procedure in theſe affairs may be inſtructive to the reader. After the entry is made in the land-office, there being one in each county,

ty, the perſon making the entry takes out a copy of the location, and proceeds to ſurvey when he pleaſes. The plot and certificate of ſuch ſurvey muſt be returned to the office within three months after the ſurvey is made, there to be recorded; and a copy of the record muſt be taken out in twelve months, after the return of the ſurvey, and produced to the aſſiſtant regiſter of the land office in Kentucky, where it muſt lie ſix months, that prior locators may have time and opportunity to enter a caveat, and prove their better right. If no caveat is entered in that time, the plot and certificate are ſent to the land office at Richmond, in Virginia, and three months more are allowed to have the patent returned to the owner.

The validity of the right of Virginia to this extenſive weſtern territory has been diſputed by ſome, but without reaſon. The weſtern boundary of that ſtate, by charter, reſtricted by the treaty of Paris, in 1763, is fixed upon the Ohio River. She has purchaſed the ſoil from the Indians, has firſt ſettled it, and eſtabliſhed wholeſome laws for the regulation and government of the

inhabitants; and therefore we conclude, that the right of Virginia to Kentucky is as permanent as the independence of America.

TRADE OF KENTUCKY.

A CONVENIENT ſituation for commerce is the grand hinge upon which the population, riches, and happineſs of every country greatly depend. I believe many conceive the ſituation of Kentucky to be unfavourable in this reſpect. I confeſs when I firſt viſited this country I was of the opinion of other miſinformed men, that the beſt channel was from Philadelphia or Baltimore, by the way of Pittſburg, and from thence down the Ohio; and upon account of the difficulties and expences attending this route, for which there is no remedy, that goods would ever be dear. This opinion I have ſince reprobated, as the effect of ignorance of the trade up the Miſſiſſippi from New Orleans, or Mantchac, at the river or gut Iberville.

Thoſe who are acquainted with America know the

the Miſſiſſippi and Ohio Rivers to be the key to the northern parts of the ſouthern continent. Theſe are the principal channels through which that extenſive region, bathed by their waters, and enriched by the many ſtreams they receive, communicate with the ſea, and may truly be conſidered as the great paſſage made by the Hand of Nature for a variety of valuable purpoſes, and principally to promote the happineſs and benefit of mankind; amongſt which, the conveyance of the produce of that immenſe and fertile country lying weſtward of the United States is not the leaſt. A ſhort deſcription of theſe rivers, and ſome others flowing into them, are objects ſubmitted to the reader's attention, in order to form a juſt idea of the favourable commercial circumſtances of that important country.

The Ohio River begins at Pittſburg, 320 miles weſt of Philadelphia, being there formed by the junction of the Alleghany and Monangehela Rivers, and, running a winding courſe of S. 60° Weſt, falls into the Miſſiſſippi 1074 miles, by the meanders of the river, below Pittſburg. The only obſtruction to navigation on this river are the

Rapids,

Rapids, as deſcribed before under the deſcription of the Kentucky rivers; but they are paſſed in ſafety when the ſtream is high.

The moſt remarkable branches compoſing the head waters of Ohio are Red-ſtone Creek, Cheat River, and Yohogania. Theſe waters are navigable to a conſiderable diſtance above Pittſburg, from November until June, and the Ohio a month longer; but from Great Kenhaway, which is one hundred and ninety-ſix miles and a half below Pittſburg, the ſtream is navigable moſt of the year. Down this river great quantities of goods are brought, and ſome are conveyed up the Kentucky rivers, others on horſeback or in waggons to the ſettled part, and ſold on an average at one hundred pounds per cent. advance.

The current of the Ohio deſcends about two miles an hour in autumn, and when the waters are high, about four miles. Thoſe of the Kentucky rivers are much the ſame, and without rapids, and are of immenſe value to the country, affording fiſh and fowl, and tranſportation of the produce of the country to the beſt market. Theſe rivers increaſe the Ohio more in depth than

than breadth. At its mouth it is not more than one and a half mile in width, and enters the Miſſiſſippi in a S. W. direction with a ſlow current, and a fine channel. This great river, at the junction with the Ohio, runs in a S. E. direction, and afterwards in a S. W. having been a little before joined by a greater river called Miſſouri, which runs in an eaſtward direction through Louiſiana, and afterwards communicates to the Miſſiſſippi, its own muddy and majeſtic appearance. The depth is, in common, eight or ten fathoms, until you approach its mouth, which empties itſelf by ſeveral channels into the Gulf of Mexico. Here the navigation is dangerous, on account of the many iſlands, ſand-bars, and logs, interſperſed in its mouth, which is about twenty miles wide. This diſadvantage may be remedied almoſt in the ſame manner that the ſtream was diſconcerted. The conflict between the ſea and this mighty river, which brings down with its ſtream great numbers of trees, mud, leaves, &c. cauſes them to ſubſide and form ſhoals. One of theſe trees, ſtopped by its roots or branches, will ſoon be joined by thouſands

ſands more, and ſo fixed, that no human force is able to remove them. In time they are conſolidated, every flood adds another layer to their height, forming iſlands, which at length are covered with ſhrubs, graſs, and cane, and forcibly ſhift the bed of the river. In this manner we ſuppoſe moſt of the country on each ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, below the Iberville, to have been formed, by iſlands uniting to iſlands, which in a ſucceſſion of time have greatly encroached on the ſea, and produced an extenſive tract of country. If ſome of the floating timber at the mouths of this river were moved into ſome of the channels, numbers more would incorporate with them; and the current being impeded in theſe, the whole force of the river uniting, one important channel would forcibly be opened, and ſufficiently cleared to admit of the moſt excellent navigation.

About ninety-nine miles above Orleans is a fort, now called Mantchac by the Spaniards; formerly Forte Bute by the Engliſh, who built it. Near this is a large gut, formed by the Miſſiſſippi, on the eaſt ſide, called Iberville; ſome have

have dignified it with the name of River, when the Miſſiſſippi, its ſource, is high. This is navigable, at moſt, not above four months in the year for the firſt ten miles; for three miles further it is from two to ſix feet in autumn, and from two to four fathoms the remaining part of the way to lake Maurepas, receiving in its courſe the river Amit, which is navigable for batteaux to a conſiderable diſtance.

Lake Maurepas is about ten miles in length, and ſeven in breadth; and there is a paſſage of ſeven miles between this and Lake Pontchartrain.

Lake Pontchartrain is about forty miles long, twenty-four broad, and eighteen feet deep. From this lake to the ſea the channel is ten miles long, and three hundred yards wide; and the water deep enough to admit large veſſels through theſe lakes, and their communications. This place, if attended to, might be of conſequence to all the weſtern country, and to the commerce of Weſt-Florida: for it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that the inhabitants and traders of the weſtern country would rather trade at this place than

at

at New Orleans, if they could have as good returns for their peltry, and the produce of their ſoil, as it makes a conſiderable difference in their voyage, and ſaves labour, money, and time. Experience will doubtleſs produce conſiderable improvements, and render the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, either by theſe lakes, or New Orleans, nearly as cheap as any other. That the Miſſiſſippi can anſwer every valuable purpoſe of trade and commerce is proved already to a demonſtration by experience.

I have reaſon to believe that the time is not far diſtant when New Orleans will be a great trading city, and perhaps another will be built near Mantchac, at Iberville, that may in time rival its glory.

A prodigious number of iſlands, ſome of which are of great extent, are interſperſed in that mighty river; and the difficulty in aſcending it in the ſpring, when the floods are high, is compenſated by eddies or counter currents, which moſtly run in the bends near the banks of the river with nearly equal velocity againſt the ſtream, and aſſiſt the aſcending boats. This river is rapid in thoſe parts

parts which have cluſters of iſlands, ſhoals, and ſand banks; but the rapidity of theſe places will be no inconvenience to the newly invented mechanical boats*, it being their peculiar property to ſail beſt in ſmart currents.

From new Orleans to the Falls of Ohio, batteaux, carrying about 40 tons, have been rowed by eighteen or twenty men in eight or ten weeks, which, at the extent, will not amount to more than five hundred pounds expence, which experience has proved to be about one-third of that from Philadelphia. It is highly probable that in time the diſtance will be exceedingly ſhortened by cutting acroſs bends of the river.

Charlevoix relates, that at Coupee or Cut-point, the river formerly made a great turn, and ſome Canadians, by deepening the channel of a ſmall

* This plan is now in agitation in Virginia, and recommended to government by two gentlemen of firſt rate abilities, Mr. Charles Rumſey and Dr. James M'Macken. Their propoſals are, "to conſtruct a ſpecies of boat, of the burthen of ten tons, that ſhall ſail, or be propelled by the force of mechanical powers thereto applied, up the ſtream of a freſh water river the diſtance of between 25 and 40 miles a day, notwithſtanding the velocity of the water ſhould move at the rate of ten miles an hour, to be wrought at no greater expence than that of three hands."

brook,

brook, diverted the waters of the river into it. The impetuoſity of the ſtream was ſo violent, and the ſoil of ſo rich and looſe a quality, that in a ſhort time the point was entirely cut through, and the old channel left dry, except in inundations, by which travellers ſave 14 leagues of their voyage. The new channel has been ſounded with a line of thirty fathoms without finding bottom. When the diſtance is ſhortened, which I believe may readily be done, and the mechanical boats brought to their higheſt improvement, the expences of a voyage from New Orleans to the Falls of Ohio will be attended with inconſiderable expence. Now we know by experience that forty tons of goods cannot be taken to the Falls of Ohio from Philadelphia under ſixteen hundred pounds expence; but by improvements on the Miſſiſſippi, with the conveniences of theſe boats, goods can be brought from New Orleans to the Falls for the tenth part of that expence; and if they are ſold at one hundred pounds per cent. now, when brought from Philadelphia at expences ſo great, what may the merchant afford to ſell his goods at, who brings them ſo much cheaper?

cheaper? Beſides, the great advantages ariſing from the exporting of peltry, and country produce, which never can be conveyed to the eaſtern ports to any advantage. It is evident alſo that the market from which they receive imports, muſt conſequently receive their exports, which is the only return they can poſſibly make.

By ſtating the commerce of Kentucky in its proper terms, we find the expences ſuch, that we conclude with propriety, that that country will be ſupplied with goods as cheap as if ſituated but forty miles from Philadelphia.

But perhaps it will be replied, New Orleans is in the poſſeſſion of the Spaniards, who whenever they pleaſe, may make uſe of that fort, and ſome others they have on the Miſſiſſippi, to prevent the navigation, and ruin the trade. The paſſage through Iberville is alſo ſubject to the Spaniards, and, beſides, inconvenient; that ſtream continuing ſo ſhort a time, and in the moſt diſadvantageous ſeaſon.

I grant it will be abſurd to expect a free navigation of the Miſſiſſippi whilſt the Spaniards are in poſſeſſion of New Orleans. To ſuppoſe it, is

an idea calculated to impoſe only upon the weak. They may perhaps trade with us upon their own terms, while they think it conſiſtent with their intereſt*, but no friendſhip in trade exiſts when intereſt expires; therefore, when the weſtern country becomes populous and ripe for trade, ſound policy tells us the Floridas muſt be ours too. According to the articles of the Definitive Treaty, we are to have a free and unmoleſted navigation of the Miſſiſſippi; but experience teaches mankind that treaties are not always to be depended upon, the moſt ſolemn being broken. Hence we learn that no one ſhould put much faith in any ſtate; and the trade and commerce of the Miſſiſſippi River cannot be ſo well ſecured in any other poſſeſſion as our own.

Although the Iberville only admits of a ſhort and inconvenient navigation, yet if a commercial town were built there, it would be the center of the weſtern trade; and a land carriage of ten or twelve miles would be counted no diſadvantage

* Article 8th of the late Definitive Treaty, ſays, The navigation of the Miſſiſſippi River from its ſource to the ocean, ſhall for ever remain free and open to the ſubjects of Great-Britain and the citizens of the United States.

to

to the merchant. Nay, I doubt not, that in time a canal will be broke through the gut of Iberville, which may divert the water of Miſſiſſippi that way, and render it a place of the greateſt conſequence in America; but this important period is reſerved for futurity.

THE ADVENTURES OF COLONEL DANIEL BOON,

FORMERLY A HUNTER;

Containing a NARRATIVE of the WARS of KENTUCKY.

CURIOSITY is natural to the ſoul of man and intereſting objects have a powerful influence on our affections. Let theſe influencing powers actuate, by the permiſſion or diſpoſal of Providence, from ſelfiſh or ſocial views, yet in time the myſterious will of Heaven is unfolded, and we behold our conduct, from whatſoever motives excited, operating to anſwer the important deſigns of heaven. Thus we behold Kentucky, lately an howling wilderneſs, the habitation of ſavages and wild beaſts, become a fruitful field; this region, ſo favourably diſtinguiſhed by nature, now become the habitation of civilization, at a period unparalleled in hiſtory, in the midſt of a raging war, and under all the diſadvantages of emigration to a country ſo remote from the inhabited

inhabited parts of the continent. Here, where the hand of violence ſhed the blood of the innocent; where the horrid yells of ſavages, and the groans of the deſtreſſed, ſounded in our ears, we now hear the praiſes and adorations of our Creator; where wretched wigwams ſtood, the miſerable abodes of ſavages, we behold the foundations of cities laid, that, in all probability, will equal the glory of the greateſt upon earth. And we view Kentucky ſituated on the fertile banks of the great Ohio, riſing from obſcurity to ſhine with ſplendor, equal to any other of the ſtars of the American hemiſphere.

The ſettling of this region well deſerves a place in hiſtory. Moſt of the memorable events I have myſelf been exerciſed in; and, for the ſatisfaction of the public, will briefly relate the circumſtances of my adventures, and ſcenes of life, from my firſt movement to this country until this day.

It was on the firſt of May, in the year 1769, that I reſigned my domeſtic happineſs for a time, and left my family and peaceable habitation on the Yadkin River, in North Carolina, to wan-

der through the wilderneſs of America, in queſt of the country of Kentucky, in company with John Finley, John Stewart, Joſeph Holden, James Monay, and William Cool. We proceeded ſucceſsfully, and after a long and fatiguing journey through a mountainous wilderneſs, in a weſtward direction, on the ſeventh day of June following we found ourſelves on Red-River, where John Finley had formerly been trading with the Indians, and, from the top of an eminence, ſaw with pleaſure the beautiful level of Kentucky. Here let me obſerve, that for ſome time we had experienced the moſt uncomfortable weather as a prelibation of our future ſufferings. At this place we encamped, and made a ſhelter to defend us from the inclement ſeaſon, and began to hunt and reconnoitre the country. We found every where abundance of wild beaſts of all ſorts, through this vaſt foreſt. The buffalo were more frequent than I have ſeen cattle in the ſettlements, browzing on the leaves of the cane, or cropping the herbage on thoſe extenſive plains, fearleſs, becauſe ignorant, of the violence of man. Sometimes we ſaw hundreds in a drove, and the numbers

bers about the ſalt ſprings were amazing. In this foreſt, the habitation of beaſts of every kind natural to America, we practiſed hunting with great ſucceſs, until the twenty-ſecond day of December following.

This day John Stewart and I had a pleaſing ramble, but fortune changed the ſcene in the cloſe of it. We had paſſed through a great foreſt, on which ſtood myriads of trees, ſome gay with bloſſoms, others rich with fruits. Nature was here a ſeries of wonders, and a fund of delight. Here ſhe diſplayed her ingenuity and induſtry in a variety of flowers and fruits, beautifully coloured, elegantly ſhaped, and charmingly flavoured; and we were diverted with innumerable animals preſenting themſelves perpetually to our view.—In the decline of the day, near Kentucky river, as we aſcended the brow of a ſmall hill, a number of Indians ruſhed out of a thick cane-brake upon us, and made us priſoners. The time of our ſorrow was now arrived, and the ſcene fully opened. The Indians plundered us of what we had, and kept us in confinement ſeven days, treating us with common ſavage uſage. During this time we diſcovered no uneaſineſs or

deſire to eſcape, which made them leſs ſuſpicious of us; but in the dead of night, as we lay in a thick cane-brake by a large fire, when ſleep had locked up their ſenſes, my ſituation not diſpoſing me for reſt, I touched my companion, and gently awoke him. We improved this favourable opportunity, and departed, leaving them to take their reſt, and ſpeedily directed our courſe towards our old camp, but found it plundered, and the company diſperſed and gone home. About this time my brother, Squire Boon, with another adventurer, who came to explore the country ſhortly after us, was wandering through the foreſt, determined to find me if poſſible, and accidentally found our camp. Notwithſtanding the unfortunate circumſtances of our company, and our dangerous ſituation, as ſurrounded with hoſtile ſavages, our meeting ſo fortunately in the wilderneſs made us reciprocally ſenſible of the utmoſt ſatisfaction. So much does friendſhip triumph over misfortune, that ſorrows and ſufferings vaniſh at the meeting not only of real friends, but of the moſt diſtant acquaintances, and ſubſtitute happineſs in their room.

Soon

Soon after this, my companion in captivity, John Stewart, was killed by the ſavages, and the man that came with my brother returned home by himſelf. We were then in a dangerous, helpleſs ſituation, expoſed daily to perils and death amongſt ſavages and wild beaſts, not a white man in the country but ourſelves.

Thus ſituated, many hundred miles from our families in the howling wilderneſs, I believe few would have equally enjoyed the happineſs we experienced. I often obſerved to my brother, You ſee now how little nature requires to be ſatisfied. Felicity, the companion of content, is rather found in our own breaſts than in the enjoyment of external things: and I firmly believe it requires but a little philoſophy to make a man happy in whatſoever ſtate he is. This conſiſts in a full reſignation to the will of Providence; and a reſigned ſoul finds pleaſure in a path ſtrewed with briars and thorns.

We continued not in a ſtate of indolence, but hunted every day, and prepared a little cottage to defend us from the winter ſtorms. We remained there undiſturbed during the winter; and

and on the firſt day of May, 1770, my brother returned home to the ſettlement by himſelf, for a new recruit of horſes and ammunition, leaving me by myſelf, without bread, ſalt or ſugar, without company of my fellow creatures, or even a horſe or dog. I confeſs I never before was under greater neceſſity of exerciſing philoſophy and fortitude. A few days I paſſed uncomfortably. The idea of a beloved wife and family, and their anxiety upon the account of my abſence and expoſed ſituation, made ſenſible impreſſions on my heart. A thouſand dreadful apprehenſions preſented themſelves to my view, and had undoubtedly diſpoſed me to melancholy, if further indulged.

One day I undertook a tour through the country, and the diverſity and beauties of nature I met with in this charming ſeaſon, expelled every gloomy and vexatious thought. Juſt at the cloſe of day the gentle gales retired, and left the place to the diſpoſal of a profound calm. Not a breeze ſhook the moſt tremulous leaf. I had gained the ſummit of a commanding ridge, and, looking round with aſtoniſhing delight, beheld the ample plains, the beauteous tracts below. On the other hand,

hand, I ſurveyed the famous river Ohio that rolled in ſilent dignity, marking the weſtern boundary of Kentucky with inconceivable grandeur. At a vaſt diſtance I beheld the mountains lift their venerable brows, and penetrate the clouds. All things were ſtill. I kindled a fire near a fountain of ſweet water, and feaſted on the loin of a buck, which a few hours before I had killed. The ſullen ſhades of night ſoon overſpread the whole hemiſphere, and the earth ſeemed to gaſp after the hovering moiſture. My roving excurſion this day had fatigued my body, and diverted my imagination. I laid me down to ſleep, and I awoke not until the ſun had chaſed away the night. I continued this tour, and in a few days explored a conſiderable part of the country, each day equally pleaſed as the firſt. I returned again to my old camp, which was not diſturbed in my abſence. I did not confine my lodging to it, but often repoſed in thick cane-brakes, to avoid the ſavages, who, I believe, often viſited my camp, but fortunately for me, in my abſence. In this ſituation I was conſtantly expoſed to danger and death. How unhappy ſuch a ſituation for a man tormented with fear, which is vain if no danger comes,

comes, and if it does, only augments the pain. It was my happineſs to be deſtitute of this afflicting paſſion, with which I had the greateſt reaſon to be affected. The prowling wolves diverted my nocturnal hours with perpetual howlings; and the various ſpecies of animals in this vaſt foreſt, in the day time, were continually in my view.

Thus I was ſurrounded with plenty in the midſt of want. I was happy in the midſt of dangers and inconveniences. In ſuch a diverſity it was impoſſible I ſhould be diſpoſed to melancholy. No populous city, with all the varieties of commerce and ſtately ſtructures, could afford ſo much pleaſure to my mind, as the beauties of nature I found here.

Thus, through an uninterrupted ſcene of ſylvan pleaſures, I ſpent the time until the 27th day of July following, when my brother, to my great felicity, met me, according to appointment, at our old camp. Shortly after, we left this place, not thinking it ſafe to ſtay there longer, and proceeded to Cumberland River, reconnoitring that part of the country until March, 1771, and giving names to the different waters.

Soon

Soon after, I returned home to my family, with a determination to bring them as ſoon as poſſible to live in Kentucky, which I eſteemed a ſecond paradiſe, at the riſk of my life and fortune.

I returned ſafe to my old habitation, and found my family in happy circumſtances. I ſold my farm on the Yadkin, and what goods we could not carry with us; and on the twenty-fifth day of September, 1773, bade a farewell to our friends, and proceeded on our journey to Kentucky, in company with five families more, and forty men that joined us in Powel's Valley, which is one hundred and fifty miles from the now ſettled parts or Kentucky. This promiſing beginning was ſoon overcaſt with a cloud of adverſity; for upon the tenth day of October, the rear of our company was attacked by a number of Indians, who killed ſix, and wounded one man. Of theſe my eldeſt ſon was one that fell in the action. Though we defended ourſelves, and repulſed the enemy, yet this unhappy affair ſcattered our cattle, brought us into extreme difficulty, and ſo diſcouraged the whole company, that we retreated

ed forty miles, to the ſettlement on Clinch river. We had paſſed over two mountains, viz. Powel's and Walden's, and were approaching Cumberland mountain when this adverſe fortune overtook us. Theſe mountains are in the wilderneſs, as we paſs from the old ſettlements in Virginia to Kentucky, are ranged in a S. W. and N. E. direction, are of a great length and breadth, and not far diſtant from each other. Over theſe, nature hath formed paſſes that are leſs difficult than might be expected from a view of ſuch huge piles. The aſpect of theſe cliffs is ſo wild and horrid, that it is impoſſible to behold them without terror. The ſpectator is apt to imagine that nature had formerly ſuffered ſome violent convulſion; and that theſe are the diſmembered remains of the dreadful ſhock; the ruins, not of Perſepolis or Palmyra, but of the world!

I remained with my family on Clinch until the ſixth of June, 1774, when I and one Michael Stoner were ſolicited by Governor Dunmore of Virginia, to go to the Falls of the Ohio, to conduct into the ſettlement a number of ſurveyors that had been ſent thither by him ſome months before;

before; this country having about this time drawn the attention of many adventurers. We immediately complied with the Governor's requeſt, and conducted in the ſurveyors, compleating a tour of eight hundred miles, through many difficulties, in ſixty-two days.

Soon after I returned home, I was ordered to take the command of three garriſons during the campaign, which Governor Dunmore carried on againſt the Shawaneſe Indians: after the concluſion of which, the militia was diſcharged from each garriſon, and I being relieved from my poſt, was ſolicited by a number of North-Carolina gentlemen, that were about purchaſing the lands laying on the S. ſide of Kentucky River, from the Cherokee Indians, to attend their treaty at Wataga, in March 1775, to negociate with them, and mention the boundaries of the purchaſe. This I accepted; and at the requeſt of the ſame gentlemen, undertook to mark out a road in the beſt paſſage from the ſettlement through the wilderneſs to Kentucky, with ſuch aſſiſtance as I thought neceſſary to employ for ſuch an important undertaking.

I ſoon

I ſoon began this work, having collected a number of enterpriſing men, well armed. We proceeded with all poſſible expedition until we came within fifteen miles of where Boonſborough now ſtands, and where we were fired upon by a party of Indians that killed two, and wounded two of our number; yet, although ſurpriſed and taken at a diſadvantage, we ſtood our ground. This was on the twentieth of March, 1775. Three days after, we were fired upon again, and had two men killed, and three wounded. Afterwards we proceeded on to Kentucky River without oppoſition; and on the firſt day of April began to erect the fort of Boonſborough at a ſalt lick, about ſixty yards from the river, on the S. ſide.

On the fourth day, the Indians killed one of our men.—We were buſily employed in building this fort, until the fourteenth day of June following, without any farther oppoſition from the Indians; and having finiſhed the works, I returned to my family, on Clinch.

In a ſhort time, I proceeded to remove my family from Clinch to this garriſon: where we arrived

arrived ſafe without any other difficulties than ſuch as are common to this paſſage, my wife and daughter being the firſt white women that ever ſtood on the banks of Kentucky River.

On the twenty-fourth day of December following, we had one man killed, and one wounded, by the Indians, who ſeemed determined to perſecute us for erecting this fortification.

On the fourteenth day of July 1776, two of Col. Calaway's daughters, and one of mine, were taken priſoners near the fort. I immediately purſued the Indians, with only eight men, and on the ſixteenth overtook them, killed two of the party, and recovered the girls. The ſame day on which this attempt was made, the Indians divided themſelves into different parties, and attacked ſeveral forts, which were ſhortly before this time erected, doing a great deal of miſchief. This was extremely diſtreſſing to the new ſettlers. The innocent huſbandman was ſhot down, while buſy in cultivating the ſoil for his family's ſupply. Moſt of the cattle around the ſtations were deſtroyed. They continued their hoſtilities in this

manner until the fifteenth of April 1777, when they attacked Boonſborough with a party of above one hundred in number, killed one man, and wounded four.—Their loſs in this attack was not certainly known to us.

On the fourth day of July following, a party of about two hundred Indians attacked Boonſborough, killed one man, and wounded two. They beſieged us forty-eight hours; during which time ſeven of them were killed, and, at laſt, finding themſelves not likely to prevail, they raiſed the ſiege, and departed.

The Indians had diſpoſed their warriors in different parties at this time, and attacked the different garriſons to prevent their aſſiſting each other, and did much injury to the diſtreſſed inhabitants.

On the nineteenth day of this month, Col. Logan's fort was beſieged by a party of about two hundred Indians. During this dreadful ſiege they did a great deal of miſchief, diſtreſſed the garriſon, in which were only fifteen men, killed two, and wounded one. The enemy's loſs was uncertain,

uncertain, from the common practice which the Indians have of carrying off their dead in time of battle. Col. Harrod's fort was then defended by only ſixty-five men, and Boonſborough by twenty-two, there being no more forts or white men in the country, except at the Falls, a conſiderable diſtance from theſe; and all taken collectively, were but a handful to the numerous warriors that were every where diſperſed through the country, intent upon doing all the miſchief that ſavage barbarity could invent. Thus we paſſed through a ſcene of ſufferings that exceeds deſcription.

On the twenty-fifth of this month, a reinforcement of forty-five men arrived from North Carolina, and about the twentieth of Auguſt following, Col. Bowman arrived with one hundred men from Virginia. Now we began to ſtrengthen, and from hence, for the ſpace of ſix weeks, we had ſkirmiſhes with Indians, in one quarter or other, almoſt every day.

The ſavages now learned the ſuperiority of the Long Knife, as they call the Virginians,

by experience; being out-generalled in almoſt every battle. Our affairs began to wear a new aſpect, and the enemy, not daring to venture on open war, practiſed ſecret miſchief at times.

On the firſt day of January 1778, I went with a party of thirty men to the Blue Licks, on Licking River, to make ſalt for the different garriſons in the country.

On the 7th day of February, as I was hunting to procure meat for the company, I met with a party of one hundred and two Indians, and two Frenchmen, on their march againſt Boonſborough, that place being particularly the object of the enemy.

They purſued, and took me; and brought me on the eighth day to the Licks, where twenty-ſeven of my party were, three of them having previouſly returned home with the ſalt. I, knowing it was impoſſible for them to eſcape, capitulated with the enemy, and, at a diſtance in their view, gave notice to my men of their ſituation, with orders not to reſiſt, but ſurrender themſelves captives.

The

The generous uſage the Indians had promiſed before in my capitulation, was afterwards fully complied with, and we proceeded with them as priſoners to old Chelicothe, the principal Indian town on Little Miami, where we arrived, after an uncomfortable journey in very ſevere weather, on the eighteenth day of February, and received as good treatment as priſoners could expect from ſavages.—On the tenth day of March following, I and ten of my men were conducted by forty Indians to Detroit, where we arrived the thirtieth day, and were treated by Governor Hamilton, the Britiſh commander at that poſt, with great humanity.

During our travels, the Indians entertained me well; and their affection for me was ſo great, that they utterly refuſed to leave me there with the others, although the Governor offered them one hundred pounds ſterling for me, on purpoſe to give me a parole to go home. Several Engliſh gentlemen there, being ſenſible of my adverſe fortune, and touched with human ſympathy, generouſly offered a friendly ſupply for my wants, which I refuſed, with many thanks for their kind-

neſs ; adding, that I never expected it would be in my power to recompenſe ſuch unmerited generoſity.

The Indians left my men in captivity with the Britiſh at Detroit, and on the tenth day of April brought me towards Old Chelicothe, where we arrived on the twenty-fifth day of the ſame month. This was a long and fatiguing march, through an exceeding fertile country, remarkable for fine ſprings and ſtreams of water. At Chelicothe I ſpent my time as comfortaby as I could expect; was adopted, according to their cuſtom, into a family, where I became a ſon, and had a great ſhare in the affection of my new parents, brothers, ſiſters, and friends. I was exceedingly familiar and friendly with them, always appearing as chearful and ſatisfied as poſſible, and they put great confidence in me. I often went a hunting with them, and frequently gained their applauſe for my activity at our ſhooting-matches. I was careful not to exceed many of them in ſhooting; for no people are more envious than they in this ſport. I could obſerve, in their countenances and geſtures, the greateſt expreſſions of joy

joy when they exceeded me; and, when the reverſe happened, of envy. The Shawaneſe king took great notice of me, and treated me with profound reſpect, and entire friendſhip, often entruſting me to hunt at my liberty. I frequently returned with the ſpoils of the woods, and as often preſented ſome of what I had taken to him, expreſſive of duty to my ſovereign. My food and lodging were in common with them; not ſo good indeed as I could deſire, but neceſſity made every thing acceptable.

I now began to meditate an eſcape, and carefully avoided their ſuſpicions, continuing with them at Old Chelicothe until the firſt day of June following, and then was taken by them to the ſalt ſprings on Sciota, and kept there, making ſalt, ten days. During this time I hunted ſome for them, and found the land, for a great extent about this river, to exceed the ſoil of Kentucky, if poſſible, and remarkably well watered.

When I returned to Chelicothe, alarmed to ſee four hundred and fifty Indians, of their choiceſt warriors, painted and armed in a fearful man-

ner, ready to march againſt Boonſborough, I determined to eſcape the firſt opportunity.

On the ſixteenth, before ſun-riſe, I departed in the moſt ſecret manner, and arrived at Boonſborough on the twentieth, after a journey of one hundred and ſixty miles; during which, I had but one meal.

I found our fortreſs in a bad ſtate of defence; but we proceeded immediately to repair our flanks, ſtrengthen our gates and poſterns, and form double baſtions, which we completed in ten days. In this time we daily expected the arrival of the Indian army; and at length, one of my fellow priſoners, eſcaping from them, arrived, informing us that the enemy had, on account of my departure, poſtponed their expedition three weeks.—The Indians had ſpies out viewing our movements, and were greatly alarmed with our increaſe in number and fortifications. The Grand Councils of the nations were held frequently, and with more deliberation than uſual. They evidently ſaw the approaching hour when the Long Knife would diſpoſſeſs them of their deſirable habitations; and, anxiouſly concerned for futurity, determined

determined utterly to extirpate the whites out of Kentucky. We were not intimidated by their movements, but frequently gave them proofs of our courage.

About the firſt of Auguſt, I made an incurſion into the Indian country, with a party of nineteen men, in order to ſurpriſe a ſmall town up Sciota, called Paint-Creek-Town. We advanced within four miles thereof, where we met a party of thirty Indians on their march againſt Boonſborough, intending to join the others from Chelicothe. A ſmart fight enſued betwixt us for ſome time; at length the ſavages gave way, and fled. We had no loſs on our ſide: the enemy had one killed, and two wounded. We took from them three horſes, and all their baggage; and being informed, by two of our number that went to their town, that the Indians had entirely evacuated it, we proceeded no further, and returned with all poſſible expedition to aſſiſt our garriſon againſt the other party. We paſſed by them on the ſixth day, and on the ſeventh, we arrived ſafe at Boonſborough.

On the eighth, the Indian army arrived, being four

four hundred and forty-four in number, commanded by Capt. Duquesne, eleven other Frenchmen, and some of their own chiefs, and marched up within view of our fort, with British and French colours flying; and having sent a summons to me, in his Britannick Majesty's name, to surrender the fort, I requested two days consideration, which was granted.

It was now a critical period with us.—We were a small number in the garrison:—a powerful army before our walls, whose appearance proclaimed inevitable death, fearfully painted, and marking their footsteps with desolation. Death was preferable to captivity; and if taken by storm, we must inevitably be devoted to destruction. In this situation we concluded to maintain our garrison, if possible. We immediately proceeded to collect what we could of our horses, and other cattle, and bring them through the posterns into the fort: and in the evening of the ninth, I returned answer, that we were determined to defend our fort while a man was living.—'Now,' said I to their commander, who stood attentively hearing my sentiments, 'We laugh at all your formidable

formidable preparations: but thank you for giving us notice and time to provide for our defence. Your efforts will not prevail; for our gates ſhall for ever deny you admittance.'—Whether this anſwer affected their courage, or not, I cannot tell; but, contrary to our expectations, they formed a ſcheme to deceive us, declaring it was their orders, from Governor Hamilton, to take us captives, and not to deſtroy us; but if nine of us would come out, and treat with them, they would immediately withdraw their forces from our walls, and return home peaceably. This ſounded grateful in our ears; and we agreed to the propoſal.

We held the treaty within ſixty yards of the garriſon, on purpoſe to divert them from a breach of honour, as we could not avoid ſuſpicions of the ſavages. In this ſituation the articles were formally agreed to, and ſigned; and the Indians told us it was cuſtomary with them, on ſuch occaſions, for two Indians to ſhake hands with every white man in the treaty, as an evidence of entire friendſhip. We agreed to this alſo, but were ſoon convinced their policy was to take us priſoners.—

priſoners.—They immediately grappled us; but, although ſurrounded by hundreds of ſavages, we extricated ourſelves from them, and eſcaped all ſafe into the garriſon, except one that was wounded, through a heavy fire from their army. They immediately attacked us on every ſide, and a conſtant heavy fire enſued between us, day and night, for the ſpace of nine days.

In this time the enemy began to undermine our fort, which was ſituated ſixty yards from Kentucky River. They began at the water-mark, and proceeded in the bank ſome diſtance, which we underſtood by their making the water muddy with the clay; and we immediately proceeded to diſappoint their deſign, by cutting a trench acroſs their ſubterranean paſſage. The enemy diſcovering our counter-mine, by the clay we threw out of the fort, deſiſted from that ſtratagem: and experience now fully convincing them that neither their power nor policy could effect their purpoſe, on the twentieth day of Auguſt they raiſed the ſiege, and departed.

During this ſiege, which threatened death in every form, we had two men killed, and four wounded,

wounded, beſides a number of cattle. We killed of the enemy thirty-ſeven, and wounded a great number. After they were gone, we picked up one hundred and twenty-five pounds weight of bullets, beſides what ſtuck in the logs of our fort; which certainly is a great proof of their induſtry. Soon after this, I went into the ſettlement, and nothing worthy of a place in this account paſſed in my affairs for ſome time.

During my abſence from Kentucky Col. Bowman carried on an expedition againſt the Shawaneſe, at Old Chelicothe, with one hundred and ſixty men, in July 1779. Here they arrived undiſcovered, and a battle enſued, which laſted until ten o'clock, A. M. when Col. Bowman, finding he could not ſucceed at this time, retreated about thirty miles. The Indians, in the mean time, collecting all their forces, purſued and overtook him, when a ſmart fight continued near two hours, not to the advantage of Col. Bowman's party.

Col. Harrod propoſed to mount a number of horſe, and furiouſly to ruſh upon the ſavages, who at this time fought with remarkable fury.

This

This desperate step had a happy effect, broke their line of battle, and the savages fled on all sides. In these two battles we had nine killed, and one wounded. The enemy's loss uncertain, only two scalps being taken,

On the twenty-second day of June 1780, a large party of Indians and Canadians, about six hundred in number, commanded by Col. Bird, attacked Riddle's and Martin's stations, at the Forks of Licking River, with six pieces of artillery. They carried this expedition so secretly, that the unwary inhabitats did not discover them, until they fired upon the forts; and, not being prepared to oppose them, were obliged to surrender themselves miserable captives to barbarous savages, who immediately after tomahawked one man and two women, and loaded all the others with heavy baggage, forcing them along toward their towns, able or unable to march. Such as were weak and faint by the way, they tomahawked. The tender women, and helpless children, fell victims to their cruelty. This, and the savage treatment they received afterwards, is shocking to humanity, and too barbarous to relate.

The

The hoſtile diſpoſition of the ſavages, and their allies, cauſed General Clark, the commandant at the Falls of the Ohio, immediately to begin an expedition with his own regiment, and the armed force of the country, againſt Pecaway, the principal town of the Shawaneſe, on a branch of Great Miami, which he finiſhed with great ſucceſs, took ſeventeen ſcalps, and burnt the town to aſhes, with the loſs of ſeventeen men.

About this time I returned to Kentucky with my family; and here, to avoid an enquiry into my conduct, the reader being before informed of my bringing my family to Kentucky, I am under the neceſſity of informing him that, during my captivity with the Indians, my wife, who deſpaired of ever ſeeing me again, expecting the Indians had put a period to my life, oppreſſed with the diſtreſſes of the country, and bereaved of me, her only happineſs, had, before I returned, tranſported my family and goods, on horſes, through the wilderneſs, amidſt a multitude of dangers, to her father's houſe in North-Carolina.

Shortly after the troubles at Boonſborough, I went

went to them, and lived peaceably there until this time. The hiſtory of my going home, and returning with my family, forms a ſeries of difficulties, an account of which would ſwell a volume, and being foreign to my purpoſe, I ſhall purpoſely omit them.

I ſettled my family in Boonſborough once more; and ſhortly after, on the ſixth day of October 1780, I went in company with my brother to the Blue Licks; and, on our return home, we were fired upon by a party of Indians. They ſhot him, and purſued me, by the ſcent of their dog, three miles; but I killed the dog, and eſcaped. The winter ſoon came on, and was very ſevere, which confined the Indians to their wigwams.

The ſeverity of this winter cauſed great difficulties in Kentucky. The enemy had deſtroyed moſt of the corn the ſummer before. This neceſſary article was ſcarce, and dear; and the inhabitants lived chiefly on the fleſh of buffalo. The circumſtances of many were very lamentable: however, being a hardy race of people, and accuſtomed to difficulties and neceſſities, they

were

were wonderfully ſupported through all their ſufferings, until the enſuing autumn, when we received abundance from the fertile ſoil.

Towards Spring, we were frequently haraſſed by Indians; and, in May, 1782, a party aſſaulted Aſhton's ſtation, killed one man, and took a Negro priſoner. Capt. Aſhton, with twenty-five men, purſued, and overtook the ſavages, and a ſmart fight enſued, which laſted two hours; but they being ſuperior in number, obliged Captain Aſhton's party to retreat, with the loſs of eight killed, and four mortally wounded; their brave commander himſelf being numbered among the dead.

The Indians continued their hoſtilities; and, about the tenth of Auguſt following, two boys were taken from Major Hoy's ſtation. This party was purſued by Capt. Holder and ſeventeen men, who were alſo defeated, with the loſs of four men killed, and one wounded. Our affairs became more and more alarming. Several ſtations which had lately been erected in the country were continually infeſted with ſavages, ſtealing their horſes and killing the men at every opportunity. In a

field, near Lexington, an Indian ſhot a man, and running to ſcalp him, was himſelf ſhot from the fort, and fell dead upon his enemy.

Every day we experienced recent miſchiefs. The barbarous ſavage nations of Shawaneſe, Cherokees, Wyandots, Tawas, Delawares, and ſeveral others near Detroit, united in a war againſt us, and aſſembled their choiceſt warriors at old Chelicothe, to go on the expedition, in order to deſtroy us, and entirely depopulate the country. Their ſavage minds were inflamed to miſchief by two adandoned men, Captains M'Kee and Girty. Theſe led them to execute every diabolical ſcheme; and, on the fifteenth day of Auguſt, commanded a party of Indians and Canadians, of about five hundred in number, againſt Briant's ſtation, five miles from Lexington. Without demanding a ſurrender, they furiouſly aſſaulted the garriſon, which was happily prepared to oppoſe them; and, after they had expended much ammunition in vain, and killed the cattle round the fort, not being likely to make themſelves maſters of this place, they raiſed the ſiege, and departed in the morning of the third day after they

they came, with the loſs of about thirty killed, and the number of wounded uncertain.—Of the garriſon four were killed, and three wounded.

On the eighteenth day Col. Todd, Col. Trigg, Major Harland, and myſelf, ſpeedily collected one hundred and ſeventy-ſix men, well armed, and purſued the ſavages. They had marched beyond the Blue Licks to a remarkable bend of the main fork of Licking River, about forty-three miles from Lexington, where we overtook them on the nineteenth day. The ſavages obſerving us, gave way; and we, being ignorant of their numbers, paſſed the river. When the enemy ſaw our proceedings, having greatly the advantage of us in ſituation, they formed the line of battle, from one bend of Licking to the other, about a mile from the Blue Licks. An exceeding fierce battle immediately began, for about fifteen minutes, when we, being overpowered by numbers, were obliged to retreat, with the loſs of ſixty-ſeven men, ſeven of whom were taken priſoners. The brave and much-lamented Colonels Todd and Trigg, Major

Harland, and my ſecond ſon, were among the dead. We were informed that the Indians, numbering their dead, found they had four killed more than we; and therefore, four of the priſoners they had taken were, by general conſent, ordered to be killed, in a moſt barbarous manner, by the young warriors, in order to train them up to cruelty; and then they proceeded to their towns.

On our retreat we were met by Col. Logan, haſtening to join us, with a number of well armed men. This powerful aſſiſtance we unfortunately wanted in the battle; for notwithſtanding the enemy's ſuperiority of numbers, they acknowledged that, if they had received one more fire from us, they ſhould undoubtedly have given way. So valiantly did our ſmall party fight, that, to the memory of thoſe who unfortunately fell in the battle, enough of honour cannot be paid. Had Col. Logan and his party been with us, it is highly probable we ſhould have given the ſavages a total defeat.

I cannot reflect upon this dreadful ſcene, but ſorrow fills my heart. A zeal for the defence of

their

their country led theſe heroes to the ſcene of action, though with a few men to attack a powerful army of experienced warriors. When we gave way, they purſued us with the utmoſt eagerneſs, and in every quarter ſpread deſtruction. The river was difficult to croſs, and many were killed in the flight, ſome juſt entering the river, ſome in the water, others after croſſing, in aſcending the cliffs. Some eſcaped on horſeback, a few on foot; and, being diſperſed every where in a few hours, brought the melancholy news of this unfortunate battle to Lexington. Many widows were now made. The reader may gueſs what ſorrow filled the hearts of the inhabitants, exceeding any thing that I am able to deſcribe. Being reinforced, we returned to bury the dead, and found their bodies ſtrewed every where, cut and mangled in a dreadful manner. This mournful ſcene exhibited a horror almoſt unparalleled: Some torn and eaten by wild beaſts; thoſe in the river eaten by fiſhes; all in ſuch a putrified condition, that no one could be diſtinguiſhed from another.

As ſoon as General Clark, then at the Falls of

hio, who was ever our ready friend, and the love and gratitude of all his countrymen, underſtood the circumſtances of this unfortunate action, he ordered an expedition, with all poſſible haſte, to purſue the ſavages, which was ſo expeditiouſly effected, that we overtook them within two miles of their towns, and probably might have obtained a great victory, had not two of their number met us about two hundred poles before we came up. Theſe returned quick as lightening to their camp with the alarming news of a mighty army in view. The ſavages fled in the utmoſt diſorder, evacuated their towns, and reluctantly left their territory to our mercy. We immediately took poſſeſſion of Old Chelicothe, without oppoſition, being deſerted by its inhabitants. We continued our purſuit through five towns on the Miami rivers, Old Chelicothe, Pecaway, New Chelicothe, Will's Towns, and Chelicothe, burnt them all to aſhes, entirely deſtroyed their corn, and other fruits, and every where ſpread a ſcene of deſolation in the country. In this expedition we took ſeven priſoners and five ſcalps, with the loſs of only

only four men, two of whom were accidentally killed by our own army.

This campaign in ſome meaſure damped the ſpirits of the Indians, and made them ſenſible of our ſuperiority. Their connections were diſſolved, their armies ſcattered, and a future invaſion put entirely out of their power; yet they continued to practiſe miſchief ſecretly upon the inhabitants, in the expoſed parts of the country.

In October following, a party made an excurſion into that diſtrict called the Crab Orchard, and one of them, being advanced ſome diſtance before the others, boldly entered the houſe of a poor defenceleſs family, in which was only a Negro man, a woman and her children, terrified with the apprehenſions of immediate death. The ſavage, perceiving their defenceleſs ſituation, without offering violence to the family, attempted to captivate the Negro, who happily proved an over-match for him, threw him on the ground, and, in the ſtruggle, the mother of the children drew an axe from a corner of the cottage, and cut his head off, while her little daughter ſhut the door. The ſavages inſtantly appeared, and ap-

plied their tomahawks to the door. An old ruſty gun-barrel, without a lock, lay in a corner, which the mother put through a ſmall crevice, and the ſavages, perceiving it, fled. In the mean time, the alarm ſpread through the neighbourhood; the armed men collected immediately, and purſued the ravagers into the wilderneſs. Thus Providence, by the means of this Negro, ſaved the whole of the poor family from deſtruction. From that time, until the happy return of peace between the United States and Great Britain, the Indians did us no miſchief. Finding the great king beyond the water diſappointed in his expectations, and conſcious of the importance of the Long Knife, and their own wretchedneſs, ſome of the nations immediately deſired peace; to which, at preſent, they ſeem univerſally diſpoſed, and are ſending ambaſſadors to General Clark, at the Falls of the Ohio, with the minutes of their Councils; a ſpecimen of which, in the minutes of the Piankaſhaw Council, is ſubjoined.

To conclude, I can now ſay that I have verified the ſaying of an old Indian who ſigned Col. Hender-

Henderſon's deed. Taking me by the hand, at the delivery thereof, Brother, ſays he, we have given you a fine land, but I believe you will have much trouble in ſettling it.—My footſteps have often been marked with blood, and therefore I can truly ſubſcribe to its original name. Two darling ſons, and a brother, have I loſt by ſavage hands, which have alſo taken from me forty valuable horſes, and abundance of cattle. Many dark and ſleepleſs nights have I been a companion for owls, ſeparated from the cheerful ſociety of men, ſcorched by the ſummer's ſun, and pinched by the winter's cold, an inſtrument ordained to ſettle the wilderneſs. But now the ſcene is changed: peace crowns the ſylvan ſhade.

What thanks, what ardent and ceaſeleſs thanks are due to that all-ſuperintending Providence which has turned a cruel war into peace, brought order out of confuſion, made the fierce ſavages placid, and turned away their hoſtile weapons from our country! May the ſame Almighty Goodneſs baniſh the accurſed monſter, war, from all lands, with her hated aſſociates, rapine and inſatiable ambition! Let peace, deſcending

from

from her native heaven, bid her olives ſpring amidſt the joyful nations; and plenty, in league with commerce, ſcatter bleſſings from her copious hand!

This account of my adventures will inform the reader of the moſt remarkable events of this country.—I now live in peace and ſafety, enjoying the ſweets of liberty, and the bounties of Providence, with my once fellow-ſufferers, in this delightful country, which I have ſeen purchaſed with a vaſt expence of blood and treaſure, delighting in the proſpect of its being, in a ſhort time, one of the moſt opulent and powerful ſtates on the continent of North-America; which, with the love and gratitude of my countrymen, I eſteem a ſufficient reward for all my toil and dangers.

DANIEL BOON.

Fayette county, Kentucky.

PIANKA-

PIANKASHAW COUNCIL.

In a COUNCIL, *held with the Piankaſhaw Indians, by* THOMAS J. DALTON, *at Poſt St. Vincent's, April* 15, 1784.

MY CHILDREN,

WHAT I have often told you, is now come to paſs. This day I received news from my Great Chief, at the Falls of Ohio. Peace is made with the enemies of America. The White Fleſh, the Americans, French, Spaniards, Dutch and Engliſh, this day ſmoke out of the peace-pipe. The tomahawk is buried, and they are now friends.

I am told the Shawaneſe, Delawares, Chicaſaws, Cherokees, and all other the Red Fleſh, have taken the Long Knife by the hand. They have given up to them the priſoners that were in their nations.

My

My Children on Wabaſh,

Open your ears, and let what I tell you ſink deep in your hearts. You know me. Near twenty years I have been among you. The Long Knife is my nation. I know their hearts; peace they carry in one hand, and war in the other.

I leave you to yourſelves to judge. Conſider, and now accept the one, or the other. We never beg peace of our enemies. If you love your women and children, receive the belt of wampum I preſent you. Return me my fleſh you have in your villages, and the horſes you ſtole from my people at Kentucky. Your corn fields were never diſturbed by the Long Knife. Your women and children lived quiet in their houſes, while your warriors were killing and robbing my people. All this you know is the truth. This is the laſt time I ſhall ſpeak to you. I have waited ſix moons to hear you ſpeak, and to get my people from you. In ten nights I ſhall leave the Wabaſh to ſee my Great Chief at the Falls of Ohio, where he will be glad to hear, from your own lips, what you have to ſay. Here is tobacco I give you: Smoke; and conſider what I have ſaid.—

ſaid.—Then I delivered one belt of blue and white wampum; and ſaid, Piankaſhaw, ſpeak, ſpeak to the Americans.

Then the Piankaſhaw Chief anſwered;

My Great Father, the Long Knife,

You have been many years among us. You have ſuffered by us. We ſtill hope you will have pity and compaſſion upon us, on our women and children; the day is clear. The ſun ſhines on us; and the good news of peace appears in our faces. This day, my Father, this is the day of joy to the Wabaſh Indians. With one tongue we now ſpeak.

We accept your peace-belt. We return God thanks, you are the man that delivered us, what we long wiſhed for, peace with the White Fleſh. My Father, we have many times counſelled before you knew us; and you know how ſome of us ſuffered before.

We received the tomahawk from the Engliſh: poverty forced us to it: we were attended by other nations: we are ſorry for it: we this day collect the bones of our friends that long ago were ſcattered upon the earth. We bury them

in

in one grave. We thus plant the tree of peace, that God may ſpread branches; ſo that we can all be ſecured from bad weather. They ſmoke as brothers out of the peace-pipe we now preſent you. Here, my Father, is the pipe that gives us joy. Smoke out of it. Our warriors are glad you are the man we preſent it to. You ſee, Father, we have buried the tomahawk: we now make a great chain of friendſhip never to be broken; and now, as one people, ſmoke out of your pipe. My Father, we know God was angry with us for ſtealing your horſes, and diſturbing your people. He has ſent us ſo much ſnow and cold weather, that God himſelf killed all your horſes, with our own.

We are now a poor people. God, we hope, will help us; and our Father, the Long Knife, will have pity and compaſſion on our women and children. Your fleſh, my Father, is well that is among us; we ſhall collect them all together when they come in from hunting. Don't be ſorry, my Father, all the priſoners taken at Kentucky are alive and well; we love them, and ſo do our young women.

Some

Some of your people mend our guns, and others tell us they can make rum of the corn. Thoſe are now the ſame as we. In one moon after this, we will go with them to their friends at Kentucky. Some of your people will now go with Coſtea, a Chief of our nation, to ſee his Great Father, the Long Knife, at the Falls of Ohio.

My Father,

This being the day of joy to the Wabaſh Indians, we beg a little drop of your milk, to let our warriors ſee it came from your own breaſt. We were born and raiſed in the woods; we could never learn to make rum—God has made the White Fleſh maſters of the world; they make every thing; and we all love rum———

Then they delivered three ſtrings of blue and white wampum, and the coronet of peace.

PRESENT in COUNCIL,

Muskito,	Antia,
Capt. Beaver,	Montour,
Woodes & Burning,	Castia,
Badtripes,	Grand Court,

With many other Chiefs, and War Captains, and the Principal Inhabitants of the Poſt of St. Vincent's.

Of

OF THE INDIANS.

WE have an account of twenty-eight different nations of Indians, Eaſtward of the Miſſiſſippi.—Their ſituation is as follows.

The Cherokee Indians are neareſt to Kentucky, living upon the Tenaſee River, near the mouths of Clench, Holſtein, Nolachucke, and French Broad Rivers, which form the Tenaſee or Cherokee River, in the interior part of North Carolina, two hundred miles from Kentucky.

The Chicamawgees lives about ninety miles down the Tenaſee from the Cherokees, at a place called Chicamawgee, which in our language ſignifies a boiling pot, there being a whirlpool in the river dangerous for boats. The Dragomonough, a Chief of the Cherokees, with ſixty more, broke off from that nation, and formed this

this tribe, which is called by the name of the Whirlpool.

The Cheegees, and Middle-Settlement Indians, are ſettled about fifty and eighty miles South of the Cherokee.—Theſe four tribes ſpeak one language, being deſcended from the Cherokees.

The Chicaſaws inhabit about one hundred miles N. W. from our ſettlement at French Lick, on Cumberland River, on the heads of a river called Tombeche, which runs into Mobile Bay.

The Choctaw nation are eighty miles from the Chicaſaws, down the ſame river.

The Creek Indians live about one hundred and ſixty miles South of the Choctaws, on the Apalache River, which runs into the Gulph of Mexico, ſome little diſtance Eaſt of Mobile Bay.

The Uchees Indians occupy four different places of reſidence, at the head of St. John's, the Fork of St. Mary's, the head of Cannuchee, and the head of St. Tillis. Theſe rivers riſe on the borders of of Georgia, and run ſeparately into the ocean.

The Catauba Indians are ſettled in North-Carolina, about two hundred miles diſtant from Charles-town, in S. Carolina.

The tribes to the weſtward of Ohio River are the Delawares, living upon the Muſkingum River, which runs into the Ohio one hundred and eighty-ſeven miles above Sciotha, on the N. W. ſide.

The Mingo nation lives upon a N. W. branch of Sciotha River, as is repreſented in the map.

The Wyandotts poſſeſs the banks of a river called Sanduſky, which heads and interlocks with Sciotha, and, running in a contrary direction nearly N. W. for a great diſtance, falls into Lake Erie.

The Six Nations are ſettled upon waters running into Lake Ontario, that head in the mountain, from whence the Ohio and Suſquehannah rivers riſe.

The Shawaneſe Indians occupy five towns on the waters of Little and Great Miami, as appears in the map.

The Gibbaways are fixed on the Eaſt ſide of Detroit River, and oppoſite the fort of that name. This river runs out of Lake Huron into Lake Erie, is thirty-ſix miles in length, and the fort ſtands on the Weſt ſide, half way betwixt theſe lakes.

The

The Hurons live ſix miles from the Gibbaways, towards Lake Huron, and on the ſame ſide of the river.

The Tawaws are found eighteen miles up the Mawmee or Omee River, which runs into Lake Erie.

There is a ſmall tribe of Tawas ſettled at a place called the Rapids, ſome diſtance higher up the river than the former.

The Mawmee Indians live two hundred and forty miles up this river, at a place called Roſedebeau.

The Piankaſhaws reſide about one hundred and ſixty miles up Wabaſh River:—

The Vermilion Indians about ſixty miles higher;—and the Wyahtinaws about thirty miles ſtill further up the ſame river.

The Wabaſh heads and interlocks with Mawmee, and runs a contrary direction into Ohio, three hundred and eighteen miles below the Falls.

The Long-iſle or Iſle-River Indians live on Iſle, or White River, which runs into Wabaſh.

The Kickapoos are fixed on a branch of Mawmee River above the Long-iſle Indians.

The Ozaw Nation lives on the Ozaw River, which runs into Miſſiſſippi :—

And the Kakaſky Nation, on the Miſſiſſippi, two hundred miles above the Ozaws.

The Illinois Indians inhabit upon the Illinois River, which falls into the Miſſiſſippi ;—

And the Poutawottamies near St. Joſeph's, a town on a branch of the Illinois.

The Sioux and Renards, are neighbours to the fort of Michillimackinac, on Lake Michigan.

Theſe are the principal part of the Nations within the limits of the United States. Allowing about ſeven hundred to a nation or tribe, they will contain, in all, twenty thoſand ſouls, and conſequently may furniſh between four and five thouſand warriors.

The ſpeculations of curious idleneſs have framed many ſyſtems to account for the population of this immenſe continent. There is ſcarce a people in the old world which has not had its advocates; and there have not been wanting

ſome

ſome, who, deſpairing too looſen, have cut the knot, by ſuppoſing that the power which furniſhed America with plants, has in the ſame manner ſupplied it with men; or at leaſt, that a remnant in this continent was ſaved from the univerſal deluge, as well as in the other. As this ſubject is rather curious than uſeful, and, in its very nature, does not admit of certainty, every thing that paſſed in America before the arrival of the Europeans being plunged in Cimmerian darkneſs, except thoſe little traditional records, which diffuſe a glimmering light on the two empires of Mexico and Peru, for about two hundred years at moſt before that period, we ſhall only ſlightly touch on that ſubject; chiefly for the ſake of taking notice of ſome modern diſcoveries which ſeem to ſtrengthen the probability of ſome former theories. The great ſimilarity, or rather identity, of the perſons and manners of the Americans, and thoſe of the Tartars of the N. Eaſtern parts of Aſia, together with a preſumption, which has long poſſeſſed the learned, that Aſia and America were united, or at leaſt ſeparated only by a narrow ſea, has inclined the

more reflecting part of mankind to the opinion, that the true origin of the Indians is from this quarter. The immenſe ſeas, which ſeparate the two continents on every other ſide, render it highly improbable that any colonies could ever have been ſent acroſs them before the diſcovery of the magnetical compaſs. The ingenious M. Buffon too has remarked, and the obſervation appears to be juſt, that there are no animals inhabiting in common the two continents, but ſuch as can bear the colds of the North. Thus there are no elephants, no lions, no tigers, no camels in America; but bears, wolves, deer, and elks in abundance, abſolutely the ſame in both hemiſpheres. This hypotheſis, which has been gaining ground ever ſince its firſt appearance in the world, is now reduced almoſt to a certainty by the late diſcoveries of Capt. Cook. That illuſtrious, but unfortunate navigator, in his laſt voyage, penetrated for a conſiderable diſtance into the ſtrait which divides Aſia from America, which is only ſix leagues wide at its mouth; and therefore eaſily practicable for canoes. We may now therefore conclude, that no farther enquiry will

will ever be made into the general origin of the American tribes.

Yet after all it is far from being improbable that various nations, by ſhipwreck, or otherwiſe, may have contributed, in ſome degree, to the population of this continent. The Carthaginians, who had many ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, and puſhed their diſcoveries as far as where the two continents in that quarter approach each other the neareſt, may probably have been thrown by tempeſts on the American coaſt, and the companies of the veſſels finding it impracticable to return, may have incorporated with the former inhabitants, or have formed new ſettlements, which, from want of the neceſſary inſtruments to exerciſe the arts they were acquainted with, would naturally degenerate into barbarity. There are indeed ſome ancient writers, who give us reaſon to ſuppoſe, that there were colonies regularly formed by that nation in America, and that the communication, after having continued for ſome time, was ſtopped by order of the State. But it is difficult to conceive that any people, eſtabliſhed with all thoſe

neceſſaries proper for their ſituation, ſhould ever degenerate, from ſo high a degree of cultivation as the Carthaginians poſſeſſed, to a total ignorance even of the moſt neceſſary arts: and therefore it ſeems probable, that if that nation ever had ſuch colonies, they muſt have been cut off by the natives, and every veſtige of them deſtroyed.

About the ninth and tenth centuries, the Danes were the greateſt navigators in the univerſe. They diſcovered and ſettled Iceland; and from thence, in 964, planted a colony in Greenland. The ancient Icelandic chronicles, as reported by M. Mallet, contain an account of ſome Icelanders, who, in the cloſe of an unſucceſsful war, fled to Greenland, and from thence Weſtward, to a country covered with vines, which from thence they called Vinland.

The adventurers returned home, and conducted a colony to their new diſcovery; but diſturbances ariſing in Denmark, all communication with Greenland, as well as Vinland, ceaſed; and thoſe countries remained unknown to the reſt of the world for ſeveral ages. The remains

of

of this colony are probably to be found on the coaſt of Labrador, in the nation of the Eſquimaux. The colour of their ſkins, their hairy bodies and buſhy beards, not to mention the difference of manners, mark an origin totally diſtinct from that of the other Indians.

In the year 1170, Madoc, ſon of Owen Gwynnedh, Prince of Wales, diſſatisfied with the ſituation of affairs at home, left his country, as related by the Welſh hiſtorians, in queſt of new ſettlements, and leaving Ireland to the North, proceeded Weſt till he diſcovered a fertile country; where, leaving a colony, he returned, and perſuading many of his countrymen to join him, put to ſea with ten ſhips, and was never more heard of.

This account has at ſeveral times drawn the attention of the world; but as no veſtiges of them had then been found, it was concluded, perhaps too raſhly, to be a fable, or at leaſt, that no remains of the colony exiſted. Of late years, however, the Weſtern ſettlers have received frequent accounts of a nation, inhabiting at a great diſtance up the Miſſouri, in manners and appear-

ance

ance reſembling the other Indians, but ſpeaking Welſh, and retaining ſome ceremonies of the Chriſtian worſhip; and at length this is univerſally believed there to be a fact.

Captain Abraham Chaplain, of Kentucky, a gentleman whoſe veracity may be entirely depended upon, aſſured the author, that in the late war, being with his company in garriſon at Kaſkaſky, ſome Indians came there, and, ſpeaking in the Welſh dialect, were perfectly underſtood and converſed with by two Welſhmen in his company, and that they informed them of the ſituation of their nation as mentioned above.

The author is ſenſible of the ridicule which the vain and the petulant may attempt to throw on this account; but as truth only has guided his pen, he is regardleſs of the conſequences, and flatters himſelf, that, by calling the attention of mankind once more to this ſubject, he may be the means of procuring a more accurate inquiry into its truth, which, if it ſhould even refute the ſtory of the Welſh, will at leaſt perform the important ſervice to the world, of promoting a more

more accurate diſcovery of this immenſe continent.

There are ſeveral ancient remains in Kentucky, which ſeem to prove, that this country was formerly inhabited by a nation farther advanced in the arts of life than the Indians. Theſe are there uſually attributed to the Welſh, who are ſuppoſed to have formerly inhabited here; but having been expelled by the natives, were forced to take refuge near the ſources of the Miſſouri.

It is well known, that no Indian nation has ever practiſed the method of defending themſelves by entrenchments; and ſuch a work would even be no eaſy one, while theſe nations were unacquainted with the uſe of iron.

In the neighbourhood of Lexington, the remains of two ancient fortifications are to be ſeen, furniſhed with ditches and baſtions. One of theſe contains about ſix acres of land, and the other nearly three. They are now overgrown with trees, which, by the number of circles in the wood, appear to be not leſs than one hundred and ſixty years old. Pieces of earthen veſſels have alſo been plowed up near Lexington, a manufacture

nufacture with which the Indians were never acquainted.

The burying grounds, which were mentioned above, under the head of Curioſities, form another ſtrong argument that this country was formerly inhabited by a people different from the preſent Indians. Although they do not diſcover any marks of extraordinary art in the ſtructure, yet, as many nations are particularly tenacious of their ancient cuſtoms, it may perhaps be worthy of enquiry, whether theſe repoſitories of the dead do not bear a conſiderable reſemblance to the ancient Britiſh remains. Some buildings, attributed to the Picts, are mentioned by the Scottiſh antiquaries, which, if the author miſtakes not, are formed nearly in the ſame manner. Let it be enough for him to point out the road, and hazard ſome uncertain conjectures. The day is not far diſtant, when the fartheſt receſſes of this continent will be explored, and the accounts of the Welſh eſtabliſhed beyond the poſſibility of a doubt, or conſigned to that oblivion which has already received ſo many ſuppoſitions founded on arguments as plauſible as theſe.

PERSONS

PERSONS AND HABITS.

THE Indians are not born white; and take a great deal of pains to darken their complexion, by anointing themſelves with greaſe, and lying in the ſun. They alſo paint their faces, breaſts and ſhoulders, of various colours, but generally red; and their features are well formed, eſpecially thoſe of the women. They are of a middle ſtature, their limbs clean and ſtraight, and ſcarcely any crooked or deformed perſon is to be found among them. In many parts of their bodies they prick in gun-powder in very pretty figures. They ſhave, or pluck the hair off their heads, except a patch about the crown, which is ornamented with beautiful feathers, beads, wampum, and ſuch like baubles. Their ears are pared, and ſtretched in a thong down to their ſhoulders. They are wound round with wire to expand them, and adorned with ſilver pendants, rings, and bells, which they likewiſe wear in their noſes. Some of them will have a large feather through the cartilage of the noſe; and

thoſe

thoſe who can afford it, wear a collar of wampum, a ſilver breaſtplate, and bracelets, on the arms and wriſts. A bit of cloth about the middle, a ſhirt of the Engliſh make, on which they beſtow innumerable broaches to adorn it, a ſort of cloth boots and mockaſons, which are ſhoes of a make peculiar to the Indians, ornamented with porcupine quills, with a blanket or match-coat thrown over all, compleats their dreſs at home; but when they go to war, they leave their trinkets behind, and mere neceſſaries ſerve them. There is little difference between the dreſs of the men and women, excepting that a ſhort petticoat, and the hair, which is exceeding black, and long, clubbed behind, diſtinguiſh ſome of the latter. Except the head and eye-brows, they pluck the hair, with great diligence, from all parts of the body, eſpecially the looſer part of the ſex.

Their warlike arms are guns, bows and arrows, darts, ſcalping-knives and tomahawks. This is one of their moſt uſeful pieces of field-furniture, ſerving all the offices of the hatchet, pipe, and ſword. They are exceeding expert in throwing it, and will kill at a conſiderable diſtance. The

world

world has no better marks-men, with any weapon. They will kill birds flying, fiſhes ſwimming, and wild beaſts running.

GENIUS.

THE Indians are not ſo ignorant as ſome ſuppoſe them, but are a very underſtanding people, quick of apprehenſion, ſudden in execution, ſubtle in buſineſs, exquiſite in invention, and induſtrious in action. They are of a very gentle and amiable diſpoſition to thoſe they think their friends, but as implacable in their enmity; their revenge being only completed in the entire deſtruction of their enemies. They are very hardy, bearing heat, cold, hunger and thirſt, in a ſurpriſing manner, and yet no people are more addicted to exceſs in eating and drinking, when it is conveniently in their power. The follies, nay miſchief, they commit when inebriated, are entirely laid to the liquor; and no one will revenge any injury (murder excepted) received from one who is no more himſelf. Among the

Indians,

Indians all men are equal, perſonal qualities being moſt eſteemed. No diſtinction of birth, no rank, renders any man capable of doing prejudice to the rights of private perſons; and there is no pre-eminence from merit, which begets pride, and which makes others too ſenſible of their own inferiority. Though there is perhaps leſs delicacy of ſentiment in the Indians than amongſt us; there is, however, abundantly more probity, with infinitely leſs ceremony, or equivocal compliments. Their public conferences ſhew them to be men of genius; and they have, in a high degree, the talent of natural eloquence.

They live diſperſed in ſmall villages, either in the woods, or on the banks of rivers, where they have little plantations of Indian corn, and roots, not enough to ſupply their families half the year, and ſubſiſting the remainder of it by hunting, fiſhing and fowling, and the fruits of the earth, which grow ſpontaneouſly in great plenty.

Their huts are generally built of ſmall logs, and covered with bark, each one having a chimney, and a door, on which they place a padlock.

Old

Old Chelicothe is built in form of a Kentucky ſtation, that is, a parallelogram, or long ſquare; and ſome of their houſes are ſhingled. A long Council-houſe extends the whole length of the town, where the king and chiefs of the nation frequently meet, and conſult of all matters of importance, whether of a civil or military nature.

Some huts are built by ſetting up a frame on forks, and placing bark againſt it; others of reeds, and ſurrounded with clay. The fire is in the middle of the wigwam, and the ſmoke paſſes through a little hole. They join reeds together by cords run through them, which ſerve them for tables and beds. They moſtly lie upon ſkins of wild beaſts, and ſit on the ground. They have braſs kettles and pots to boil their food; gourds or calabaſhes, cut aſunder, ſerve them for pails, cups, and diſhes.

RELIGION.

THE accounts of travellers, concerning their religion, are various; and although it cannot be

abſolutely affirmed that they have none, yet it muſt be confeſſed very difficult to define what it is. All agree that they acknowledge one Supreme God, but do not adore him. They have not ſeen him, they do not know him, believing him to be too far exalted above them, and too happy in himſelf to be concerned about the trifling affairs of poor mortals. They ſeem alſo to believe in a future ſtate, and that after death they ſhall be removed to their friends, who have gone before them, to an elyſium, or paradiſe.

The Wyandotts, near Detroit, and ſome others, have the Roman Catholic religion introduced amongſt them by miſſionaries. Theſe have a church, a miniſter, and a regular burying-ground. Many of them appear zealous, and ſay prayers in their families. Theſe, by acquaintance with white people, are a little civilized, which muſt of neceſſity precede Chriſtianity.

The Shawaneſe, Cherokees, Chickaſaws, and ſome others, are little concerned about ſuperſtition, or religion. Others continue their former ſuperſtitious worſhip of the objects of their love and fear, and eſpecially thoſe beings whom they

moſt

moſt dread, and whom therefore we generally denominate devils; though, at the ſame time, it is allowed they pray to the Sun, and other inferior benevolent deities, for ſucceſs in their undertakings, for plenty of food, and other neceſſaries in life.

They have their feſtivals, and other rejoicing-days, on which they ſing and dance in a ring, taking hands, having ſo painted and diſguiſed themſelves, that it is difficult to know any of them; and after enjoying this diverſion for a while, they retire to the place where they have prepared a feaſt of fiſh, fleſh, fowls, and fruits; to which all are invited, and entertained with their country ſongs. They believe that there is great virtue in feaſts for the ſick. For this purpoſe a young buck muſt be killed, and boiled, the friends and near neighbours of the patient invited, and having firſt thrown tobacco on the fire, and covered it up cloſe, they all ſit down in a ring, and raiſe a lamentable cry. They then uncover the fire, and kindle it up; and the head of the buck is firſt ſent about, every one taking

a bit, and giving a loud croak, in imitation of crows. They afterwards proceed to eat all the buck, making a moſt harmonious, melancholy ſong; in which ſtrain their muſic is particularly excellent.

As they approach their towns, when ſome of their people are loſt in war, they make great lamentations for their dead, and bear them long after in remembrance.

Some nations abhor adultery, do not approve of a plurality of wives, and are not guilty of theft; but there are other tribes that are not ſo ſcrupulous in theſe matters. Amongſt the Chickaſaws a huſband may cut off the noſe of his wife, if guilty of adultery; but men are allowed greater liberty. This nation deſpiſes a thief. Among the Cherokees they cut off the noſe and ears of an adultereſs; afterwards her huſband gives her a diſcharge; and from this time ſhe is not permitted to refuſe any one who preſents himſelf. Fornication is unnoticed; for they allow perſons in a ſingle ſtate unbounded freedom.

Their form of marriage is ſhort—the man, before

before witneſſes, gives the bride a deer's foot, and ſhe, in return, preſents him with an ear of corn, as emblems of their ſeveral duties.

The women are very ſlaves to the men; which is a common caſe in rude, unpoliſhed nations, throughout the world. They are charged with being revengeful; but this revenge is only doing themſelves juſtice on thoſe who injure them, and is ſeldom executed, but in caſes of murder and adultery.

Their king has no power to put any one to death by his own authority; but the murderer is generally delivered up to the friends of the deceaſed, to do as they pleaſe. When one kills another, his friend kills him, and ſo they continue until much blood is ſhed; and at laſt the quarrel is ended by mutual preſents. Their kings are hereditary, but their authority extremely limited. No people are a more ſtriking evidence of the miſeries of mankind in the want of government than they. Every chief, when offended, breaks off with a party, ſettles at ſome diſtance, and then commences hoſtilities againſt his own people. They are generally at war with

each other. Theſe are common circumſtances amongſt the Indians.

When they take captives in war, they are exceedingly cruel, treating the unhappy priſoners in ſuch a manner, that death would be preferable to life. They afterwards give them plenty of food, load them with burdens, and when they arrive at their towns, they muſt run the gauntlet. In this, the ſavages exerciſe ſo much cruelty, that one would think it impoſſible they ſhould ſurvive their ſufferings. Many are killed; but if one outlives this trial, he is adopted into a family as a ſon, and treated with paternal kindneſs; and if he avoids their ſuſpicions of going away, is allowed the ſame privileges as their own people.

THE CONCLUSION.

HAVING finiſhed my intended narrative, I ſhall cloſe with a few obſervations upon the happy circumſtances, that the inhabitants of Kentucky will probably enjoy, from the poſſeſſion of a country ſo extenſive and fertile.

There

There are four natural qualities neceſſary to promote the happineſs of a country, viz. A good ſoil, air, water, and trade. Theſe taken collectively, excepting the latter, Kentucky poſſeſſes in a ſuperior degree: and, agreeable to our deſcription of the weſtern trade, we conclude, that it will be nearly equal to any other on the continent of America, and the diſadvantages it is ſubject to, be fully compenſated by the fertility of the ſoil.

This fertile region, abounding with all the luxuries of nature, ſtored with all the principal materials for art and induſtry, inhabited by virtuous and ingenious citizens, muſt univerſally attract the attention of mankind, being ſituated in the central part of the extenſive American empire (the limits of whoſe ample domains, as deſcribed in the ſecond article of the late definitive treaty, are ſubjoined), where agriculture induſtry, laws, arts and ſciences, flouriſh; where afflicted humanity raiſes her drooping head; where ſprings a harveſt for the poor; where conſcience ceaſes to be a ſlave, and laws are no more than the ſecurity of happineſs; where na-

ture makes reparation for having created man; and government, ſo long proſtituted to the moſt criminal purpoſes, eſtabliſhes an aſylum in the wilderneſs for the diſtreſſed of mankind.

The recital of your happineſs will call to your country all the unfortunate of the earth, who, having experienced oppreſſion, political or religious, will there find a deliverance from their chains. To you innumerable multitudes will emigrate from the hateful regions of deſpotiſm and tyranny; and you will ſurely welcome them as friends, as brothers; you will welcome them to partake with you of your happineſs.—Let the memory of Lycurgus, the Spartan legiſlator, who baniſhed covetouſneſs, and the love of gold from his country; the excellent Locke, who firſt taught the doctrine of toleration; the venerable Penn, the firſt who founded a city of brethren; and Waſhington, the defender and protector of perſecuted liberty, be ever the illuſtrious examples of your political conduct. Avail yourſelves of the benefits of nature, and of the fruitful country you inhabit.

Let the iron of your mines, the wool of your flocks,

flocks, your flax and hemp, the ſkins of the ſavage animals that wander in your woods, be faſhioned into manufactures, and take an extraordinary value from your hands. Then will you rival the ſuperfluities of Europe, and know that happineſs may be found, without the commerce ſo univerſally deſired by mankind.

In your country, like the land of promiſe, flowing with milk and honey, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths, that ſpring out of valleys and hills, a land of wheat and barley, and all kinds of fruits, you ſhall eat bread without ſcarceneſs, and not lack any thing in it; where you are neither chilled with the cold of Capricorn, nor ſcorched with the burning heat of Cancer; the mildneſs of your air ſo great, that you neither feel the effects of infectious fogs, nor peſtilential vapours. Thus, your country, favoured with the ſmiles of heaven, will probably be inhabited by the firſt people the world ever knew.

ARTICLE II. *of the late* DEFINITIVE TREATY.

AND that all diſputes which might ariſe in future on the ſubject of the boundaries of the ſaid United States, may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are and ſhall be their boundaries, viz. From the N. W. angle of Nova Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the ſource of St. Croix River along the ſaid highlands, which divide thoſe rivers that empty themſelves into the river St. Lawrence, from thoſe which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the north-weſternmoſt head of Connecticut River; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; from thence by a line due weſt on ſaid latitude, until it ſtrikes the Iroquois, or Cataraqui; thence along the middle of the ſaid river into Lake Ontario, through the middle of the ſaid lake, until it ſtrikes the communication by water between that lake and Lake Erie; thence along the middle of ſaid communication into Lake Erie; through the middle

middle of ſaid lake until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and Lake Huron; thence along the middle of ſaid water communication into the Lake Huron; thence through the middle of ſaid lake to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior northward of the iſles Royal and Phelipeaux to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of ſaid Long Lake and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the Lake of the Woods; thence through the ſaid lake to the moſt N. W. point thereof, and from thence on a due weſt courſe to the river Miſſiſſippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the ſaid river Miſſiſſippi until it ſhall interſect the northernmoſt part of the thirty-firſt degree of north latitude; ſouth, by a line to be drawn due eaſt from the determination of the laſt mentioned in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the river Apalachicola, or Catanouche; thence along the middle thereof to its

junction

junction with the Flint River; thence ſtraight to the head of St. Mary's River; and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's River to the Atlantic Ocean; eaſt, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix, from its mouth in the bay of Fundy to its ſource, and from its ſource directly north to the aforeſaid highlands which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean from thoſe which fall into the river St. Lawrence, comprehending all iſlands within twenty leagues of any part of the ſhores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due eaſt from the points where the aforeſaid boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part, and Eaſt Florida on the other, ſhall reſpectively touch the bay of Fundy and the Atlantic ocean, excepting ſuch iſlands as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of the ſaid province of Nova Scotia.

ROAD

ROAD from PHILADELPHIA to the Falls of the OHIO by Land.

	M	M.D.
FROM Philadelphia to Lancaſter	66	
To Wright's on Suſquehannah	10	76
To York-town - -	12	88
Abbott's-town -	15	103
Hunter's-town	10	113
the Mountain at Black's Gap	3	116
the other ſide of the Mountain	7	123
the Stone-houſe Tavern -	25	148
Wadkin's Ferry on Potowmack	14	162
Martinſburg -	13	175
Wincheſter -	20	195
Newtown -	8	203
Stover's-town -	10	213
Woodſtock - -	12	225
Shanandoah River -	15	240
the North branch of Shanandoah	29	269
Stanton - -	15	284
the North Fork of James River	37	321
James River - -	18	339
Botetourt Court-houſe	12	351
Woods's on Catauba River	21	372
Paterſon's on Roanoak -	9	381
the Allegany Mountain -	8	389
New River - -	12	401
the Forks of the Road -	16	417
Fort Chiſſel - -	12	429
a Stone Mill - -	11	440
Boyd's - -	8	448
Head of Holſtein -	5	453

To

	M	M. D.
To Waſhington Court-houſe -	45	498
the Block-houſe -	35	533
Powel's Mountain -	33	566
Walden's Ridge -	3	569
the Valley Station -	4	573
Martin Cabbin's -	25	598
Cumberland Mountain -	20	618
the Ford of Cumberland River	13	631
the Flat Lick - -	9	640
Stinking Creek - -	2	642
Richland Creek -	7	649
Down Richland Creek -	8	657
Rackoon Spring -	6	663
Laurel River - -	2	665
Hazle Patch - -	15	680
the Ford on Rock Caſtle River	10	690
Engliſh's Station -	25	715
Col. Edwards's at Crab Orchard	3	718
Whitley's Station -	5	723
Logan's Station -	5	728
Clark's Station - -	7	735
Crow's Station - -	4	739
Harrod's Station -	3	742
Harland's - -	4	746
Harbiſon's - -	10	756
Bard's-town - -	25	781
the Salt-works -	25	806
the Falls of the Ohio -	20	826

Kentucky is ſituated about ſouth, 60° weſt from Philadelphia, and, on a ſtraight line, may be about ſix hundred miles diſtant from that city.

ROAD

ROAD and Diſtances from PHILADELPHIA to PITTSBURG.

	M	M.D.
FROM Philadelphia to Lancaſter	66	
To Middle-town -	26	92
To Harris's Ferry -	10	102
Carliſle - -	17	119
Shippenſburg -	21	140
Chamber's-town -	11	151
Fort Loudon - -	13	164
Fort Littleton -	18	182
Juniata Creek - -	19	201
Bedford - -	14	215
the Foot of the Allegany Mountains	15	230
Stony Creek - -	15	245
the Eaſt ſide of Laurel Hill	12	257
Fort Ligonier -	9	266
Pittſburg - -	54	320

POSTSCRIPT.

POSTSCRIPT.

IN order to communicate a diſtinct idea of the preſent complexion of the ſtate of Kentucky, I have drawn a map from the beſt authorities, from which you will diſcern that Kentucky is already divided into nine counties; and that villages are ſpringing up in every part within its limits, while roads have been opened to ſhorten the diſtance to Virginia, and to ſmooth the rugged paths, which a ſhort time ſince were our only tracts of communication from one place to another.

You muſt have obſerved in a note I annexed to my laſt letter, the ſecurity Kentucky enjoys from the cordon of troops extending upon the weſtern ſide of the Ohio; and you have only to contemplate the advanced ſettlements on that ſide of the river, I preſume, to become perfectly convinced of our permanent ſafety from the attacks of the Indians.

It

At the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, a ſettlement has been formed, which, united with the ſettlements on Elk River, makes it ſufficiently populous to become a diſtinct county of Virginia, by the name of Kanhaway: ſo that if you look on either quarter of Kentucky, you will find its frontiers are guarded by ſettlements nearly adult.

Galliapolis, upon the weſtern ſide of the Ohio, a little below the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, and extending to the Sciota River, ſettled by the French, forms a barrier to the north; the forts, and the different ſettlements contiguous to them, to the weſt; Cumberland to the ſouth; and upon our back, or eaſt, you will obſerve the diſtance through the wilderneſs, which ſeparates us from the back counties of Virginia, is rapidly contracting by the approximation of our ſettlements with thoſe of Virginia and North Carolina, and which will very ſoon cut off the communication between the northern and ſouthern tribes of Indians.

There were two expeditions from Kentucky performed againſt the Indians in 1791, under

Engraved for Imlay's American Topography.

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T. Conder Sculp.t

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There were two expeditions from Kentucky performed againſt the Indians in 1791, under

the command of Generals Scott and Wilkinſon, that I have not hitherto noticed, and which had for their object the chaſtiſement of a predatory, troubleſome, and warlike tribe, who lived in ſeveral detached towns upon the Wabaſh and its waters.

The particulars of thoſe expeditions I do not think have been generally known in Europe, and as they were undertaken when I was abſent from the country, I ſhall ſubjoin an extract from a letter I received from a friend, who formed one of the party; and which, I flatter myſelf, will be found to contain a conſiderable ſhare of information, both as to the manner and addreſs of the Kentuckians in Indian warfare, and a more minute account of the country lying between the Ohio and the Wabaſh.

"General Scott, at the head of 800 Kentucky Volunteers, marched from oppoſite the mouth of the Kentucky River, about the beginning of June, the courſe he ſteered was about north 20° weſt, and in about fifteen days he ſtruck and ſurprized the lower Weaucteneau towns on the Wabaſh River, and the pararie adjoining; but unfortunately

unfortunately the river at that time was not fordable, or the Kickapoo Town on the north-weſt ſide, with the Indians who eſcaped in their canoes from the Weau Town on the ſouth, muſt have fallen completely into our hands; however, about 20 warriors were killed in the Weau villages, and in the river croſſing the Wabaſh, and 47 of their Squaws and children taken priſoners.

"Immediately after the engagement, a council of war was called, when it was determined, that Wilkinſon ſhould croſs the Wabaſh under cover of the night, with a detachment of four hundred men, and endeavour to ſurpriſe the town of Kathtippacamunck, which was ſituated upon the north ſide of that river, at the mouth of Rippacanoe creek, and about twenty miles above the Lower Weau towns. This expedition was conducted with ſo much caution and celerity, that Wilkinſon arrived at the margin of the pararie, within a mile, and to the weſt of the town, about an hour before the break of day; whilſt a detachment was taking a circuit through the pararie to co-operate with the main body on a given ſignal; day appeared, and the volunteers

ruſhed into the town with an impetuoſity not to be reſiſted. The detachment in advance reached the Rippacanoe Creek the very moment the laſt of the Indians were croſſing, when a very briſk fire took place between the detachment and the Indians on the oppoſite ſide, in which ſeveral of their warriors were killed, and two of our men wounded.

" This town, which contained about 120 houſes, 80 of which were ſhingle roofed, was immediately burnt and levelled with the ground; the beſt houſes belonged to French traders, whoſe gardens and improvements round the town were truly delightful, and, every thing conſidered, not a little wonderful; there was a tavern, with cellars, bar, public, and private rooms; and the whole marked a conſiderable ſhare of order, and no ſmall degree of civilization.

" Wilkinſon returned with his detatchment, after deſtroying the town, and joined the main army about ſeven in the evening; and the day following our little armywere put in motion with their priſoners; and ſteering about ſouth, in

twelve

twelve days reached the Rapids of the Ohio, with the loſs only of two men, who unfortunately were drowned in croſſing Main White River.

" The ſucceſs of this expedition encouraged Government to ſet another on foot, under the command of General Wilkinſon; which was deſtined to operate againſt the ſame tribes of Indians; whoſe main town, near the mouth of Ell River, on the Wabaſh, had not been attacked in the firſt excurſion; and accordingly, on the firſt of Auguſt following, the general, at the head of 500 mounted volunteers, marched from Fort Waſhington, north 16° weſt, ſteering, as it were, for the Manmic villages on the Picaway Fork of the Manmic (or Miami of the lake) and St. Mary's River—This movement was intended as a feint, and the Indians, who afterwards fell upon our trail, were completely deceived; nor did we change our courſe, until by the capture of a Delaware Indian, we aſcertained that we were within 30 miles of the principal of the Manmic villages, and having marched down our northing, at the very time we received the information, ſhifted our courſe to due weſt, and at the diſtance of 180

miles from Fort Washington we struck the Wabash within two miles and a half of Longuille, or, as the Indians call it, Kenapacomaqua—It was about 4 P. M. when we reached that river, and crossing it immediately, we marched in four columns across the neck of land, formed by the junction of the Wabash and Ell Rivers: passing several Indian war posts that had been fresh painted, we arrived completely concealed on the south bank of Ell River, and directly opposite the town of Kenapacomaqua.

" The surprize of this town was so very complete, that before we received orders to cross the river and rush upon the town, we observed several children playing on the tops of the houses, and could distinguish the hilarity and merriment that seemed to crown the festivity of the villagers, for it was in the season of the green corn dance.

" The want of day-light, and a morass, that nearly encircled the town, prevented us from suddenly attacking, which enabled several of the Indians to escape; and in some measure obscured the brilliancy of the enterprize, by limiting the number of warriors killed to eleven, and capturing

ing forty Squaws and their children, after burning all the houſes, and deſtroying about 200 acres of corn; which was then in the milk, and in that ſtage when the Indians prepare it for Zoſſomanony. This ſucceſs was atchieved with the loſs of two men, who were killed.

" About four o'clock in the afternoon we mounted our priſoners, and took a weſt and by north courſe toward the Little Kickapoo Town, which the general hoped to ſurprize on his way to the Great Kickapoo Town, in the pararie, on the waters of the Illinois River; but the difficulties we encountered in this march, through theſe almoſt boundleſs pararies, were ſuch, that upon our arrival at the Little Kickapoo Town, we found one half the horſes in the army non-effective, and unlikely to reach the Ohio, by the neareſt courſe we could take; which conſideration induced the general to relinquiſh the enterprize againſt the Great Kickapoo Town; and, accordingly, after deſtroying about 200 acres of corn at Kathtippacanunck, Kickapoo, and the lower Weauctenau towns, we gained General Scot's return tract, and on the 21ſt of Auguſt, after

a circuitous march of 486 miles, arrived with our priſoners at Louiſville.

" In the courſe of this march, I had an opportunity of obſerving the general face of the country through which we paſſed.—Between Fort Waſhington, at the croſſing of the Great Miami, where at preſent there is a conſiderable ſettlement under the protection of Fort Hamilton, a fine body of land is found, but which is very indifferently watered. The ſituation of Fort Hamilton is well choſen, as advantageous for defence, as pleaſing to the eye; it ſtands on a narrow neck of land, commanding the Miami on N. W. and a pararie and ſheet of water on the N. E. about a mile wide, and two miles and an half long; from this pararie an abundant ſupply of forage may be got for the uſe of the army by repeated movings of a very fine natural graſs, from the month of June till the end of September. After paſſing the Miami River hills, on the weſt ſide, the country in places is broken, though, generally ſpeaking, from thence to the limits of our march, toward the Manmic villages the face of it is agreeably varied with hills and dales;

dales, well watered, and the timber moſtly ſuch as indicates a ſtrong and durable ſoil. Between the Manmic trace and our weſt line of march toward Kenapacomaqua, there are a number of beech ſwamps, which will require draining before they will admit of ſettlements being formed—there are however delightfully pleaſant and fertile ſituations on the Balemut and Salamine Rivers, which are only inferior to the woody plains of Kentucky in extent and climate. The pararie, in which was ſituated Kenapacomaqua, on the north bank of Ell River, is chiefly a moraſs, and produces little elſe, other than hazel, ſallow, a ſpecies of dwarf poplar, and a very coarſe, but luxuriant graſs; the latter of which covers moſtly the whole ſurface of the earth.—The ſame kind of pararie extends, with little alteration, until you approach Kathtippacanunck, when the whole country gradually aſſumes a more pleaſing and valuable appearance.

On our line of march from Kenapacomaqua to Kathtippacanunck (the diſtance of which from the traverſes we were obliged to make to avoid impaſſable moraſſes, was ſixty miles), in ſeveral places,

places, the proſpect was only bounded by the natural horizon, the uniformity of which was here and there broken by the diſtant looming of a grove on the edge of the plane, which ſtrongly reſembled the projecting points of a coach clothed with wood, and ſeen by mariners at a diſtance from the ſhore.

" The ſituation of the late town of Kathtippacanunck was well choſen for beauty and convenience; it ſtood in the boſom of a delightful ſurrounding country on a very rich bottom, extending eaſt and weſt, on the Wabaſh River about two miles; the bottom about half a mile wide, bounded on the eaſt by Tippacanoe, and weſtward by a beautiful riſing ground, ſkirted and clothed with thin woods—from the upper bank you command a view of the Wabaſh River, which is terminated by a towering growth of wood to the ſouth, and Tippacanoe Creek to the Eaſt—the country in the rear from the upper bank ſpreads into a level pararie of firm, ſtrong land, of an excellent quality, interſperſed with copſes, naked groves of trees, and high mounds of earth of a regular and conical form, all of which conſpire

conſpire to relieve the eye, and cheer the ſcene with a moſt agreeable variety. The top of this bank, which is level with the plane of the pararie, and about two hundred feet perpendicular from the bottom in which the town ſtood, forms an angle about 60°, and about midway there iſſues from its ſide two living fountains, which have hitherto conſtantly ſupplied the town with water.

" The country between Kathtippacanunck and the Little Kickapoo town is beautiful beyond deſcription. The numerous breaks, and intermixture of woodland and plains, give the whole an air of the moſt perfect taſte; for nature here, in a propitious hour, and in a benignant mood, ſeems to have deſigned to prove, in beautifying, how far ſhe excels our utmoſt efforts, and the moſt laboured improvements of art.

" Between the Little Kickapoo town and the lower Weauſteneau towns, the land is of the firſt-rate quality—at the edge of the wood lands, and before your deſcend into the river bottoms, one of the moſt charming proſpects the imagination can form, diſplays itſelf in all the variegated pride of the

the moſt captivating beauty. From this place, through the glades and viſtas of the groves in the bottom, you catch a view of the meandering river, which ſilently ſteals through this ſmiling country, as if pregnant with its charms, and, as if it was hurrying to communicate its joys to leſs happy ſtreams. The bottoms of the Wabaſh on the oppoſite ſide are confined by a bluff bank nearly two hundred feet, which interrupts the proſpect, and runs parrallel with the river—from the top of this bank a plain is ſeen ſtretching out to the eaſt and weſt as far as the eye can reach, without tree or buſh, covered with a moſt luxuriant herbage, and in every reſpect aſſuming the appearance of an highly improved and cultivated meadow. The plain is terminated on the ſouth by a diſtant proſpect of the riſing woodlands, which, with a miſty bloom, and in all that azure beauty, ſo peculiar to theſe fair regions, here appears in all its ætherial luſtre; and ſeems finally loſt in combining with the clouds.

" The Briares extend about twenty-five miles ſouth of the Wabaſh, from thence the country gradually breaks into hills and valleys, and until

we

we reached the waters of White River, we found the ſoil tolerably good. There it is very much broken, the bottoms of the rivers are narrow, and ſubject to frequent and violent innundations.

" There is ſome tolerable good land on Rocky River, but as we approached the waters of the Blue River, the country again opens into plains, in which are interſperſed clumps of ſcrubby oak, dwarf laurel, plumb, and hazel, that extend to Indian Creek, when the country again improves, and though it is rather broken, it continued to improve until we reached the Rapids of the Ohio."

What I formerly advanced reſpecting a new State being formed in ten years from that date, weſt of the Ohio, merely as conjecture, does not appear to me at preſent the leaſt problematical.

The circumſtances attending the riſe of the State of Kentucky were infinitely more perilous and calamitous than extending our ſettlements farther weſtward are likely to be:—and when it is remembered that State roſe, from an uninhabited wild, detached from every other country

from

from which it would obtain ſupplies a diſtance of ſeveral hundred miles, and expoſed on every quarter to the mercileſs fury of the ſavages, in a ſhorter period of time, and that our preſent infant ſettlements are protected by a ſtrong and active military force, directed by fatal and improved experience of our former misfortunes, with a cultivated country at their back, which pours fourth an abundance of reſources to ſupport them againſt the effects of contingencies and diſaſters, I think we may contemplate, with every degree of human certainty, the ſucceſs of ſuch a ſpeculation.

The ſettlement at the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, which did not commence until 1785, and which was an æra when our weſtern affairs had a moſt gloomy aſpect, conſtitutes already, with the ſettlements above the river Elk, a diſtinct county, and in which the laws of the State to which it belongs are adminiſtered with great preciſion and juſtice.

Galleapolis and the ſettlements upon the Miami increaſe daily in ſtrength, while freſh encouragement and ſecurity are given to emigrants by

by the vigilance of the army in their neighbourhood; who ſo completely overawe the Indians, that little harm in future can be dreaded from their incurſions, and they well know their partial ſucceſſes hitherto were owing to the folly of our war miniſter, and the inexperience of the officers of his appointment—but the ſyſtem has been completely changed—and the ſucceſs of Wilkinſon and Scot's expedition is amply ſufficient to juſtify the meaſure.

REPORT

OF THE

SECRETARY OF STATE,

TO THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

OF THE

QUANTITY AND SITUATION

OF THE

LANDS NOT CLAIMED BY THE INDIANS, NOR GRANTED TO, NOR CLAIMED BY ANY CITIZENS,

WITHIN THE TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

READ IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *NOV.* 10, 1791.

The SECRETARY OF STATE, to whom was referred by the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, the Reſolution of Congreſs, requeſting the Preſident '*to cauſe an eſtimate to be laid before Congreſs at their next ſeſſion, of the quantity and ſituation of the* LANDS *not claimed by the Indians, nor granted to, nor claimed by any citizens of the United States, within the territory ceded to the United States by the State of North-Carolina, and within the territory of the United States, North-weſt of the river Ohio,*' makes thereon the following

REPORT.

THE territory ceded by the State of North-Carolina to the United States, by deed bearing date the 25th day of February 1790, is bounded as follows, to wit: Beginning in the boundary between Virginia and North-Carolina, that is to ſay, in the parallel of latitude 36½ degrees north from the equator, on the extreme height of the Stone Mountain, where the ſaid boundary or parallel interſects it, and running thence along the ſaid extreme height to the place where Wataugo River breaks through it; thence a direct courſe to the top of the

Yellow Mountain, where Bright's Road croſſes the ſame; thence along the ridge of the ſaid mountain between the waters of Doe River and the waters of Rock Creek, to the place where the road croſſes the Iron Mountain; from thence along the extreme height of ſaid mountain to where Nolichuckey River runs through the ſame; thence to the top of the Bald Mountain; thence along the extreme height of the ſaid mountain to the Painted Rock, on French Broad River; thence along the higheſt ridge of the ſaid mountain, to the place where it is called the Great Iron or Smoky Mountain; thence along the extreme height of the ſaid mountain to the place where it is called Unaka Mountain, between the Indian towns of Cowee and Old Chota; thence along the main ridge of the ſaid mountain, to the ſouthern boundary of the ſaid State of North-Carolina, that is to ſay, to the parallel of latitude 35 degrees north from the equator; thence weſtwardly along the ſaid boundary or parallel, to the middle of the river Miſſiſſippi; thence up the middle of the ſaid river to where it is interſected by the firſt mentioned parallel of 36½ degrees; thence along the ſaid parallel to the beginning: which tract of country is a degree and a half of latitude from north to ſouth, and about 360 miles, in general, from eaſt to weſt, as nearly as may be eſtimated from ſuch maps as exiſt of that country.

The Indians having claims within the ſaid tract of country, are the Cherokees and Chickaſaws, whoſe boundaries are ſettled by the treaties of Hopewell, concluded with the Cherokees on the twenty-eighth day of November 1785, and with the Chickaſaws, on the tenth day of January 1786, and by the treaty of Holſton,

ſton, concluded with the Cherokees, July 2d, 1791. Theſe treaties acknowledge to the ſaid Indians all the lands weſtward and ſouthward of the following lines, to wit; beginning in the boundary between South and North-Carolina, where the South-Carolina Indian boundary ſtrikes the ſame; thence north to a point from which a line is to be extended to the river Clinch, that ſhall paſs the Holſton, at the ridge which divides the waters running into Little River from thoſe running into the Tanniſſee; thence up the river Clinch to Campbell's Line, and along the ſame to the top of the Cumberland Mountain; thence in a direct courſe towards the Cumberland River, where the Kentucky road croſſes it, as far as the Virginia line, or parallel aforeſaid, of 36½ degrees; thence weſtwardly, or eaſtwardly, as the cauſe ſhall be, along the ſaid line or parallel to the point thereof, which is due north-eaſt from another point to be taken on the dividing ridge of Cumberland and Duck Rivers, 40 miles from Naſhville; thence ſouth-weſt to the point laſt mentioned, on the ſaid dividing ridge, and along the ſaid dividing ridge north-weſtwardly, to where it is interſected by the ſaid Virginia line, or parallel of 36½ degrees. So that there remained to the United States, the right of pre-emption of the lands weſtward and ſouthward of the ſaid lines, and the abſolute right to thoſe northward thereof, that is to ſay; to one parcel to the eaſtward, ſomewhat triangular, comprehending the counties of Sullivan and Waſhington, and parts of thoſe of Greene and Hawkins, running about 150 miles from eaſt to weſt, on the Virginia boundary, as its baſe, and between 80 and 90 miles from north to ſouth, where broadeſt; and containing,

as may be conjectured, without pretending to accuracy, between ſeven and eight thouſand ſquare miles, or about five millions of acres: and to one other parcel to the weſtward, ſomewhat triangular alſo, comprehending parts of the counties of Sumner, Davidſon, and Tanniſſee, the baſe whereof extends about 150 miles alſo, from eaſt to weſt, on the ſame Virginia line, and its height, from north to ſouth, about 55 miles, and ſo may comprehend about four thouſand ſquare miles, or upwards of two and a half millions of acres of land.

Within theſe triangles, however, are the following claims of citizens, reſerved by the deed of ceſſion, and conſequently forming exceptions to the rights of the United States:

I. Appropriations by the State of North-Carolina, for their continental and ſtate officers and ſoldiers.

I. Grants and titles to grants veſted in individuals by the laws of the State.

III. Entries made in Armſtrong's Office, under an act of that State, of 1783, for the redemption of ſpecie and other certificates.

The claims covered by the firſt reſervation are,

1ſt, The bounties in land given by the ſaid State of North Carolina, to their continental line, in addition to thoſe given by Congreſs; theſe were to be located within a diſtrict bounded northwardly by the Virginia line, and ſouthwardly by a line parallel thereto, and 55 miles diſtant: weſtwardly, by the Tanniſſee, and eaſtwardly by the meridian of the interſection of the Virginia line, and Cumberland River; grants have accordingly iſſued for 1,239,498 acres, and warrants for the further

further quantity of 1,549,726 acres, making together 2,789,224 acres.

It is to be noted, that the ſouth-weſtern and ſouth-eaſtern angles of this diſtrict, conſtituting perhaps a fourth or a fifth of the whole, are ſouth of the lines eſtabliſhed by the the treaties of Hopewell and Holſton, and conſequently in a country wherein the Indian title is acknowledged and guaranteed by the United States. No information is received of the exact proportion of the locations made within theſe angles.

2d, Bounties in land to Evan's battalion, raiſed for ſtate purpoſes. Theſe were te be taken weſt of the Cumberland Mountain. The locations are not yet made.

The ſecond reſervation covers the following claims:

1. Lands for the ſurveyor-general's fees for laying out the military bounties, to be located in the military diſtrict. The grants already iſſued on this account amount to 30,203 acres.

2. Grants to Iſaac Shelby, Anthony Bledſoe, and Abſalom Tatum, commiſſioners for laying out the military bounties; and to guards, chain-carriers, markers, and hunters, who attended them, already iſſued to the amount of 65,932 acres, located in the military diſtrict.

3. Entries in Waſhington county, amounting to 746,362½ acres; for 214,549¼ which grants have already iſſued. Of the remaining 531,812¾ acres, a conſiderable proportion were declared void by the laws of the State, and were particularly excluded from the cover of the reſervation in the deed of ceſſion, by this clauſe in it, to wit, "Provided that nothing herein contained ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to extend, to the making

good any entry or entries, or any grant or grants, heretofore declared void, by any act or acts of the General Aſſembly of this State." Still it is to be conſidered, that many of theſe perſons have ſettled and improved the lands, are willing, as it is ſaid, to comply with ſuch conditions as ſhall be required of other purchaſers, form a ſtrong barrier on the new frontier, acquired by the treaty of Holſton, and are therefore objects meriting the conſideration of the Legiſlature.

4. Entries in Sullivan county, amounting to 240,624 acres; for 173,332 acres of which, grants have already iſſued; of the remaining entries, many are certified void, and others underſtood to be lapſed or otherwiſe voidable under the laws of the State.

5. Certain pre-emption rights granted to the firſt ſettlers of Davidſon county, on Cumberland River, amounting to 390,760 acres.

6. A grant of 200,000 acres to Richard Henderſon and others on Powel's and Clinch's Rivers, extending up Powel's River in a breadth of not leſs than 4 miles, and down Clinch's from their junction in a breadth not leſs than 12 miles. A great part of this is within the Indian territory.

Among the grants of the State now under recapitulation, as forming exceptions out of the abſolute rights of the United States, are not to be reckoned here two grants of 2,000 acres each to Alexander Martin and David Wilſon, adjacent to the lands allotted to the officers and ſoldiers; nor a grant of 25,000 acres on Duck River to the late Major General Greene; becauſe they are wholly within the Indian territory, as acknowledged by the treaties of Hopewell and Holſton.

The

The extent of the third reſervation in favor of entries made in Armſtrong's Office is not yet entirely known, nor can be till the 20th of December 1792, the laſt day given for perfecting them: the ſum of certificates, however, which had been paid for theſe warrants into the treaſury of the State, before the 20th day of May 1790, reaches in all probability near to their whole amount; this was £ 373,649 : 6s : 5d. currency of that State, and at the price of £10 the hundred acres, eſtabliſhed by law, ſhews that warrants had iſſued for 3,736,493 acres; for 1,762,660 of theſe grants have paſſed, which appear to have been located partly in the counties of Greene and Hawkins, and partly in the country from thence to the Miſſiſſippi, as divided into Eaſtern, Middle, and Weſtern diſtricts. Almoſt the whole of theſe locations are within the Indian territory. Beſides the warrants paid for as before mentioned, it is known that there are ſome others out-ſtanding and not paid for: but perhaps theſe need not be taken into account, as payment of them has been diſputed on the ground, that the lands being within the Indian territory, cannot now be delivered to the holders of the warrants.

On a review of all the reſervations, after making ſuch conjectural allowance as our information authorizes, for the proportion of them, which may be within the Indian boundaries, it appears probable that they cover all the ceded lands ſuſceptible of culture, and cleared of the Indian title, that is to ſay, all the habitable parts of the two triangles before mentioned, excepting only the lands ſouth of the French Broad, and Big Pigeon Rivers. Theſe were part of the tract appropriated by the laws of the State to the uſe of the Indians, whoſe

whoſe title being purchaſed at the late treaty of Holſton, they are now free to be diſpoſed of by the United States, and are probably the only lands open to their diſpoſal, within this ſouth-weſtern territory, which can excite the attention of purchaſers. They are ſuppoſed to amount to about 300,000 acres, and we are told that 300 families have already ſet down upon them without right or licenſe.

The territory of the United States north-weſt of the Ohio, is bounded on the ſouth by that river, on the eaſt by Pennſylvania, on the north and weſt by the lines which divide the United States from the dominions of Great Britain and Spain.

The part of this territory occupied by Indians, is north and weſt of the following lines, eſtabliſhed with the Wiandots, Delawares, Chippawas, and Ottawas, by the treaty of Fort M'Intoſh, and, with the Shawaneſe, by that of the Great Miami, to wit: beginning at the mouth of the Cayahoga, and running up the river to the portage, between that and the Tuſcaroras branch of the Muſkingum, then down the ſaid branch to the Forks, at the croſſing place above Fort Lawrence, then weſtwardly, towards the portage of the Big Miami, to the main branch of that river, then down the Miami to the fork of that river next below the old Fort, which was taken by the French in 1752; thence due weſt to the river De la Panſe, and down that river to the Wabaſh. So far the lines are preciſely defined, and the whole country ſouthward of theſe lines, and eaſtward of the Wabaſh cleared of the claims of thoſe Indians, as it is alſo of thoſe of the Poutiwatimas, and Sacs, by the treaty of Muſkingum. How far on the other ſide of the

the Wabaſh, the ſouthern boundary of the Indians has been defined, we know not. It is only underſtood in general, that their title to the lower country, between that river and the Illinois, has been formally extinguiſhed by the French, while in their poſſeſſion. As to that country then, and what lies ſtill beyond the Illinois, it would ſeem expedient that nothing be done, till a fair aſcertainment of boundary can take place, by mutual conſent, between us and the Indians intereſted.

The country within the Wabaſh, the Indian line before deſcribed, the Pennſylvania line, and the Ohio, contains, on a looſe eſtimate, about 55,000 ſquare miles, or 35 millions of acres.

During the Britiſh government, great numbers of perſons had formed themſelves into companies under different names, ſuch as the Ohio, the Wabache, the Illinois, the Miſſiſſippi, or Vandalia companies, and had covered, with their applications, a great part of this territory. Some of them had obtained orders on certain conditions, which, having never been fulfilled, their titles were never completed by grants. Others were only in a ſtate of negociation, when the Britiſh authority was diſcontinued. Some of theſe claims being already under a ſpecial reference by order of Congreſs, and all of them probably falling under the operation of the ſame principles, they will not be noticed in the preſent report.

The claims of citizens to be here ſtated will be,

I. Thoſe reſerved by the States in their deeds of ceſſion.

II. Thoſe which have ariſen under the government of the United States themſelves.

Under

Under the firſt head preſents itſelf the tract of country from the completion of the 41ſt degree, to 42 deg. 2 min. of north latitude, and extending from the Pennſylvania line before mentioned, 120 miles weſtward, not mentioned in the deed of Connecticut, while all the country weſtward thereof was mentioned to be ceded; about two and a half millions of acres of this may perhaps be without the Indian lines before mentioned.

2. A reſervation in the deed of Virginia of the poſſeſſions and titles of the French and Canadian inhabitants and other ſettlers of the Kaſkaſkias, St. Vincent's, and the neighboring villages, who had profeſſed themſelves citizens of Virginia, which rights have been ſettled by an act of the laſt ſeſſion of Congreſs, intitled, "An act for granting lands to the inhabitants and ſettlers at Vincennes and the Illinois country in the territory northweſt of the Ohio, and for confirming them in their poſſeſſions." Theſe lands are in the neighbourhood of the ſeveral villages.

3. A reſervation in the ſame deed of a quantity not exceeding 150,000 acres of land for General George Rogers Clarke, and the officers and ſoldiers of his regiment who were at the reduction of Kaſkaſkias, and St. Vincent's, to be laid off in ſuch place on the north-weſt ſide of the Ohio, as a majority of the officers ſhould chooſe. They choſe they ſhould be laid off on the river adjacent to the Rapids, which accordingly has been done.

4. A reſervation, in the ſame deed, of lands between the Scioto and Little Miami, to make up to the Virginia troops on continental eſtabliſhment the quantity which the good lands, in their ſouthern allotments, might

might fall ſhort of the bounties given them by the laws of that State. By a ſtatement of the 16th of September, 1788, it appears that 724,045⅔ acres had been ſurveyed for them on the ſouth-eaſtern ſide of the Ohio; that 1,395,385⅓ acres had been ſurveyed on the north-weſtern ſide; that warrants for 649,649 acres more, to be laid off on the ſame ſide of the river, were in the hands of the ſurveyor, and it was ſuppoſed there might ſtill be ſome few warrants not yet preſented; ſo that this reſervation may be ſtated at 2,015,034⅓ acres, or perhaps ſome ſmall matter more.

II. The claims of individual citizens derived from the United States themſelves are the following:

1. Thoſe of the continental army, founded on the reſolutions of Congreſs of September 16, 1776, Auguſt 12, and September 30, 1780, and fixed by the ordinance of May 20, 1785. The reſolution of October 22, 1787, and the ſupplementary ordinance of July 9, 1788, in the ſeven ranges of townſhips, beginning at a point on the Ohio, due north from the weſtern termination of a line then lately run, as the ſouthern boundary of Pennſylvania: or in a ſecond tract of a million of acres, bounded eaſt by the 7th range of the ſaid townſhips, ſouth by the lands of Cutler and Sargent; north, by an extenſion of the northern boundary of the ſaid townſhips; and going towards the weſt ſo far as to include the above quantity; or, laſtly, in a third tract of country; beginning at the mouth of the Ohio, and running up the Miſſiſſippi to the river Au Vauſe, thence up the ſame till it meets a weſt line from the mouth of the Little Wabaſh; thence along that line to the Great Wabaſh; thence down the ſame and the Ohio to the beginning.

The

The ſum total of the ſaid military claims is 1,851,800 acres.

2. Thoſe of the individuals who made purchaſes of land at New York, within the ſaid ſeven ranges of townſhips, according to the reſolutions of Congreſs of April 21, 1787, and the ſupplementary ordinance of July 9, 1788, which claims amount to 150,896 acres.

3. The purchaſe of one million and a half acres of land by Cutler and Sargent, on behalf of certain individuals, aſſociated under the name of the Ohio Company. This begins where the Ohio is interſected by the weſtern boundary of the 7th range of townſhips, and runs due north on that boundary 1306 chains and 25 links; thence due weſt to the weſtern boundary of the 17th range of townſhips; thence due ſouth to the Ohio, and up that river to the beginning; the whole area containing 1,781,760 acres of land, whereof 281,760 acres, conſiſting of various lots and townſhips, are reſerved to the United States.

4. The purchaſe by the ſame Cutler and Sargent on behalf alſo of themſelves and others. This begins at the north-eaſtern angle of the tract of their purchaſe before deſcribed, and runs due north to the northern boundary of the tenth townſhip from the Ohio; thence due weſt, to the Scioto; thence down the ſame, and up the Ohio to the ſouth-weſtern angle of the ſaid purchaſe before deſcribed, and along the weſtern and northern boundaries thereof to the beginning; the whole area containing 4,901,480 acres of land, out of which, however, five lots, to wit, Nos. 8, 11, 16, 26, and 29 of every townſhip, of ſix miles ſquare, are retained by the United States, and out of the whole are retained the three

three townſhips of Gnadenhutten, Schoenbrun, and Salem; and certain lands around them, as will be hereafter mentioned.

5. The purchaſe of John Cleve Symmes, bounded on the weſt by the Great Miami; on the ſouth by the Ohio; on the eaſt by a line which is to begin on the bank of the Ohio, 20 miles from the mouth of the Great Miami, as meaſured along the ſeveral courſes of Ohio, and to run parallel with the general courſe of the ſaid Great Miami; and on the north by an eaſt and weſt line, ſo run as to include a million of acres in the whole area, whereof five lots, numbered as before mentioned, are reſerved out of every townſhip by the United States.

It is ſuggeſted that this purchaſer, under colour of firſt and larger propoſition to the board of treaſury, which was never cloſed (but pending that propoſition), ſold ſundry parcels of land, between his eaſtern boundary before mentioned, and the Little Miami; and that the purchaſers have ſettled thereon. If theſe ſuggeſtions prove true, the ſettlers will, perhaps, be thought to merit the favor of the legiſlature, as purchaſers for valuable conſideration, and without notice of the defect of title.

The contracts for lands, which were at one time under conſideration with Meſſrs. Flint and Parker, and with Colonel Morgan, were never ſo far proſecuted as to bring either party under any obligation. All proceedings thereon were diſcontinued at a very early ſtage, and it is ſuppoſed that no further views exiſt with any party. Theſe, therefore, are not to be enumerated among exiſting claims.

6. Three

6. Three townſhips were reſerved by the ordinance of May 20, 1785, adjacent to Lake Erie, for refugees from Canada and Nova-Scotia, and for other purpoſes, according to reſolutions of Congreſs, made or to be made on that ſubject. Theſe would of courſe contain 69,120 acres.

7. The ſame ordinance of May 20, 1785, appropriated the three towns of Gnadenhutten, Schoenbrun, and Salem, on the Muſkingum, for the Chriſtian Indians formerly ſettled there, or the remains of that ſociety, with the grounds round about them, and the quantity of the ſaid circumjacent grounds, for each of the ſaid towns, was determined by the reſolution of Congreſs of September 3d, 1788, to be ſo much as, with the plat of its reſpective town, ſhould make up 4000 acres; ſo that the three towns and their circumjacent lands were to amount to 12,000 acres. This reſervation was accordingly made out of the larger purchaſe of Cutler and Sargent, which comprehended them. The Indians, however, for whom the reſervation was made, have choſen to emigrate beyond the limits of the United States, ſo that the lands reſerved for them ſtill remain to the United States.

On the whole, it appears that the United States may rightfully diſpoſe of all the lands between the Wabaſh, the Ohio, Pennſylvania, the forty firſt parallel of latitude, and the Indian lines deſcribed in the treaties of the Great Miami, and Fort M'Intoſh, with exceptions only of the rights ſaved by the deed of ceſſion of Virginia, and of all rights legally derived from the government of the United States, and ſuppoſing the parts ſouth of the Indian lines, to contain as before conjectured, about 35 mil-

35 millions of acres, and that the claims of citizens before enumerated may amount to between thirteen and fourteen millions, there remain at the diſpoſal of the United States upwards of twenty one millions of acres, in this north-weſtern quarter.

And though the want of actual ſurveys of ſome parts, and of a general delineation of the whole on paper, ſo as to exhibit to the eye the locations, forms, and relative poſitions of the rights before deſcribed, may prevent our forming a well defined idea of them at this diſtance, yet, on the ſpot theſe difficulties exiſt but in a ſmall degree: the individuals there employed in the details of buying, ſelling, and locating, poſſeſs local informations of the parts which concern them, ſo as to be able to keep clear of each other's rights; or, if in ſome inſtances a conflict of claims ſhould ariſe, from any want of certainty in their definition, a local judge will doubtleſs be provided to decide them without delay, at leaſt proviſionally. Time, inſtead of clearing up theſe incertainties, will cloud them the more, by the death or removal of witneſſes, the diſappearance of lines and marks, change of parties, and other caſualties.

TH. JEFFERSON, Secretary of State.

November 8, 1791.

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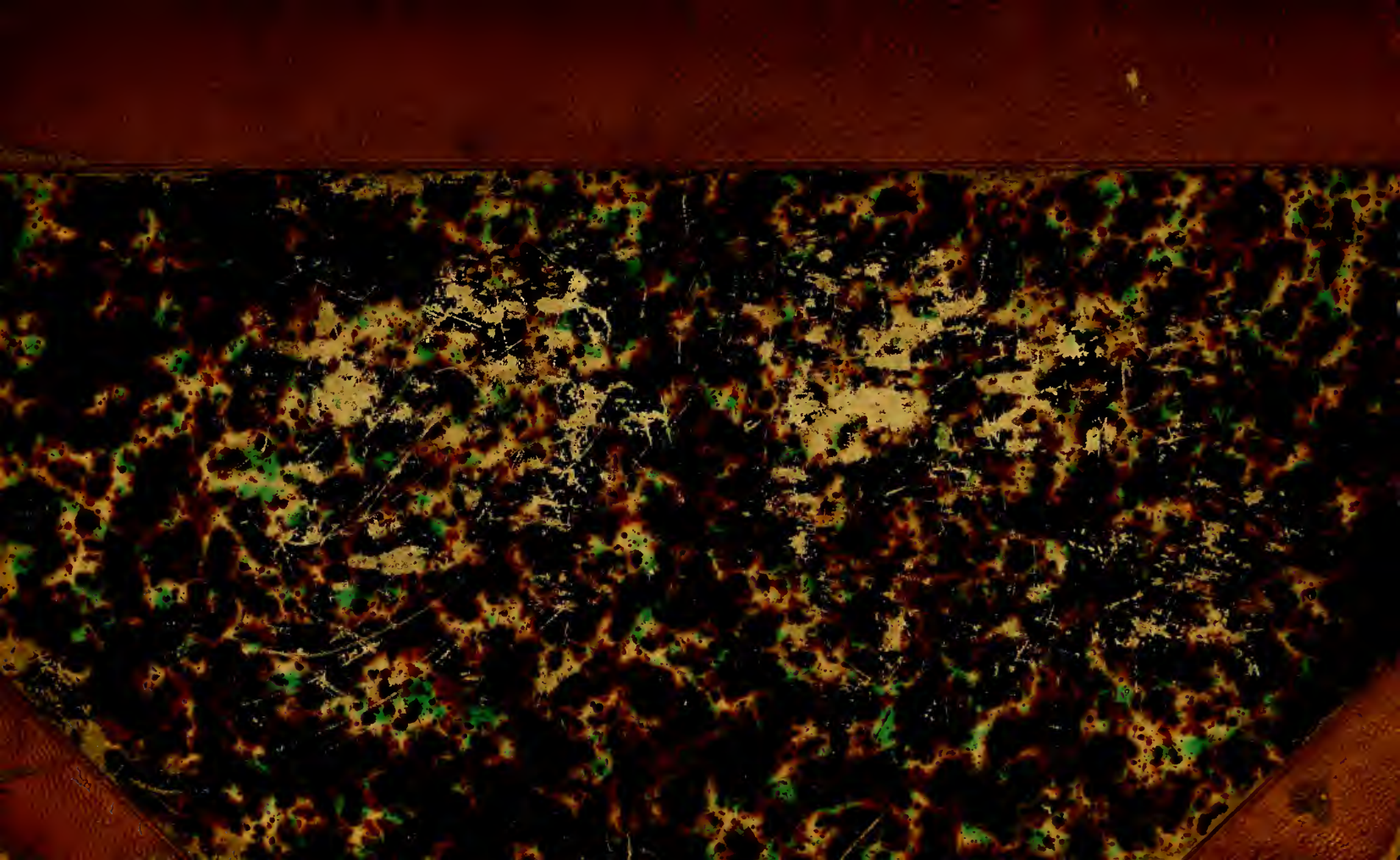
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